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THE QUARNERO AND ISTRIA

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DALMATIA

THE QUARNERO AND ISTRIA

WITH

CETTIGNE IN MONTENEGRO AND THE ISLAND OF GRADO

BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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CHAPTER X.

History of Spalato.

Spalato was originally an imperial villa standing by itself in the open country three miles from the great Roman city of Salona. It was the work of one time and probably of a single architect; it was raised from the foundations within a very few years; and there are about it indications that it was completed in haste, as if there had been barely time to get it ready to receive the master of the Roman world on his retirement. Here Diocletian lived from his abdication A.D. 305 till his death in 313, and afterwards the palace seems to have ceased to be an imperial residence, and to have been either turned to baser uses or altogether deserted till it became the refuge of the fugitives from Salona.

Of the destruction of Salona in 639 we have many narratives, but whether it fell into the hands of the Avars through treachery, or was taken by a ruse, or whether these are mere excuses to cover the cowardice and effeminacy of the degenerate Romans who were too feeble to oppose any effectual resistance to the hardy barbarians, it seems admitted that the city fell with scarce a struggle, while the inhabitants

fled in abject terror to the neighbouring islands of Solta Brazza Lesina Lissa and Curzola. Here they lived some time in poverty, building huts of leaves and osiers[1], and suffering much from scarcity of water, while the younger men equipped some light ships and scoured the coasts, making reprisals on their enemies 'so that none of the Slavs dared to go down to the sea.'

Among the exiles was one man of greater authority than the rest, Severus, 'whose house had stood next the columns of the palace on the sea,' by whose influence the fugitives were induced to return in considerable numbers, not indeed to Salona, where they would not long have remained unmolested, but to the empty house of Diocletian, where they proposed to stay till better times made it possible to return to Salona and rebuild their old home.

But these better times never came. The barbarians hearing of their return ravaged the land they were trying to cultivate outside the walls of the palace, and confined them within the gates. There was little hope of their being able to reconquer the city which they had been unable to defend, and they had enough to do to protect themselves where they were, for their numbers were so reduced that the narrow limits of their new home, though built not for a town but merely for a royal residence, were wider than they required. A mandate from Constantinople, however, secured them in the possession

[1] Thom. Arch. viii. From this tradition, if it is to be depended upon, we may gather that these islands were then deserted.

of their new settlement, and imposed on their barbarian neighbours a cessation of further annoyance, and the two populations soon learned to live together in peace.

Abandoning therefore all thought of return to Salona, which indeed was laid in ruins so that nothing but the theatre[1] remained standing, the returned exiles made Spalato their final settlement, and began to reestablish civil order. The bishopric, which had remained vacant since their flight, was filled by the election of the papal legate John of Ravenna, and in the year 650 the temple of Jupiter was purged of its idols, and dedicated 'to the honour of God and the glorious Virgin Mary.' An expedition was also sent to Salona to recover the precious remains of the popular Saint Domnius; the envoys found the basilica in ruins and overgrown with brambles, but guided by the recollection of some who remembered the locality in its pristine state they opened the ground, and discovered a coffin with which they decamped in great haste, fearing every moment to be disturbed by the Slavs. The coffin proved, however, to contain the wrong saint. A second expedition was more successful; the holy Domnius was translated with great pomp to his new resting-place, and the new cathedral was thus provided with the orthodox conditions of sanctity[2]. The

[1] Thom. Arch. ix.

[2] Fortis, p. 322, says a learned man, named Caramaneo, flourished at Lissa in the 18th century, who got himself 'into no little trouble by proving in a dissertation that the reliques of S. Doimo, venerated at Spalato with great zeal, were not genuine.'

new see was invested by the Pope with all the authority of the ancient archiepiscopal see of Salona, and even in the time of Thomas the archdeacon in the thirteenth century the title of the archbishops was taken from the older city and not from Spalato. The archbishop was metropolitan of all Dalmatia, and the bishops from the remotest parts of the province assembled in synod at Spalato, until the fate of the four bishops of Cattaro Dolcigno Antivari and Suacia, who on their way to Spalato in 1033 were drowned off the island of Lesina[1], led to the establishment of an archbishop for Upper Dalmatia at Antivari.

Spalato was visited by the great Venetian expedition under Pietro Orseolo II in 998, and took the oath of allegiance to Venice.

In 1059 the synod was held here at which it was decreed that 'no one should presume to celebrate the divine mysteries in the Slavonic language, but only in Latin and Greek, and that no one of that tongue should be advanced to holy orders[2].'

In 1060 Lorenzo, bishop of Ossero, was promoted to the archbishopric of Spalato. He was a Dalma-

[1] The rock where they were wrecked and lost their lives is still known by the name Biskupada.

[2] Vid. supra, vol. i. chap. i. p. 33. Thomas Archidiaconus explains that the Slav language was prohibited because it contained many writings of a schismatic character. It is curious to find him accusing Methodius, who with Cyril evangelised the Slavs, of inventing the Slavonic character as a vehicle for heretical tenets. Methodius and Cyril are now venerated both by the Roman and the Greek Church, and their tombs are the resort of numerous pilgrims.

tian, '*small in stature but great in wisdom*,' and under his rule increasing attention was paid to literature and the arts, as has been already narrated[1].

The Spalatini, after some hesitation, admitted the Hungarians in 1105, on condition that their privileges should be respected; but a league between the Hungarian archbishop Manasses and the new Hungarian governor to make themselves absolute masters of the town provoked a rising of the citizens, headed by Adriano of Treviso their rector or count, who with the aid of a contingent from Traü destroyed the Hungarian garrison, and drove the archbishop into exile. On another occasion they had to resist the attempts of Reles, the duke of Croatia, who tried to induce the Spalatines to elect him rector, but the Spalatini refused from detestation of the rule of a Slav[2], and when Reles ravaged their lands they defeated and slew him. Here again is an instance of the old hostility between the two races, Latin and Slavonic. Another may perhaps be found in the fate of archbishop Rainiero, a very careful man of business who anxiously asserted and maintained the rights of his church, and who in 1180, going to Mount Massarus (Mossor) to recover some farms which the Slavs had occupied, was stoned to death for his pains. Other instances of the loyalty of the Spalatini to their Latin descent, though surrounded by Slavs and governed by Hungarians, may be seen in their elec-

[1] Vid. supra, vol. i. chap. i. p. 77.

[2] 'Detestantes prorsus regimen viri Sclavigenae experiri.' Thom. Archid. xxi.

tion of an Italian from Perugia to the archbishopric in 1200, and in the resolution they formed in 1239 or 1240, on the advice of Thomas the archdeacon, to follow the example of the Italian cities and invite a podestà from some Italian town. Thomas and Micha Madii were sent to Ancona where they were handsomely received by the podestà, a Bergamasc, and on his advice they offered the post of podestà of Spalato for one year to Gargano degli Arsacidi, with a salary of 500 Ancona 'librae.' Under his wise administration, which was continued for a second and third year, feuds were composed, the government ordered on the plan of an Italian city, and the Slavs reduced to good behaviour. His successes against the Almissan pirates have been related in the general history[1].

In 1241 the Tartars appeared before Spalato in pursuit of king Bela. All the inhabitants whom they found outside the walls were put to death; but as the king was their real object they made no regular attack on the town, but followed him to Traü, and having failed before that city they eventually retired from the country.

During the confusion that succeeded the Tartar invasion, Spalato like Traü enjoyed a brief period of independence, which however the two states spent chiefly in wars with one another and in internal discord.

The podestà Gargano was succeeded by Giovanni of the family of the counts of Veglia, who was podestà

[1] Vid. vol. i. chap. i. p. 64.

for a year, during which the state was disgraced by disputes between the nobles and the clergy about ecclesiastical patronage. The see was vacant, and under the next podestà, Bernardo of Trieste, Thomas the archdeacon was elected by the chapter, but rejected by the laity who resented their exclusion from the election. Hostilities also broke out between Spalato and Traü. The Spalatini were defeated and obliged to call Ninoslav the Ban of Bosnia to their aid, while the Traürini complained to the king of Hungary who sent envoys to see them righted, and in 1244 Spalato was assaulted by Dionysius, Ban of all Slavonia and Dalmatia. The suburbs were taken and burned, and the town was in danger of capture; but terms were made, an indemnity paid, and an archbishop of the king's nomination received, who was also made count of Spalato and lord of the dependent islands[1]. Hugrinus or Ugolino Cesmen, the new potentate, thus doubly invested with secular and spiritual power, was young, handsome, ambitious, and given entirely to worldly things, so at least says Thomas the historian, who perhaps speaks with the pique of a disappointed rival. This brilliant figure, however, was carried off by a premature death after fourteen months, and in order to avoid a fresh contest an embassy of two citizens was dispatched to the Pope at Lyons, to obtain from him a direct nomination to the vacant see. The journey was long, and as the envoys had to pass through the territory of the Emperor Frederick, then hostile to

[1] A. D. 1247.

the Pope, its object made it perilous; but the ambassadors arrived in safety, and the Pope nominated Roger of Beneventum, who seems to have been a prelate of sumptuous and splendid tastes.

The history of Thomas ends with an incident which illustrates the importance of the municipal privileges enjoyed by the Dalmatian cities, and the sturdy independence with which the free citizens maintained their rights. Five citizens of Spalato had been captured by order of queen Maria, wife of Bela IV, in reprisal for the death of two Hungarians of Clissa, who had been slain while ravaging the lands of Spalato. Thomas the archdeacon and Marino went to the king in Hungary, who at the instance of his wife demanded hostages in return for the liberation of the prisoners. Thomas and his colleague, however, it is very significant to read, '*pleaded the tenor of the privilege obtained by the city from former kings as to the giving of hostages, and on no terms would they consent, and so they returned home without effecting anything.*' In the end, however, the Spalatini had to give twelve boys as hostages in spite of their privileges, which nevertheless, though in this instance overridden by force, were generally effective bulwarks of their civil and municipal liberties.

The effect of the tyrannical government of the counts of Bribir in driving the maritime towns to invoke the protection of the Venetians has been explained in the general history[1]. Spalato revolted

[1] Vid. supra, History, vol. i. p. 86.

to Venice in 1327; in 1357 she revolted again to Hungary; from 1390 to 1391 she submitted to Tvartko, and in 1402 the standard of Ladislaus of Naples was raised here by Hervoye vayvode of Bosnia, whom his patron created duke of Spalato. That ill-considered enterprise was soon at an end, and Hervoye, who intrigued with all parties including the Turks, was disgraced by Sigismund in 1413, and retired to Cattaro where he died in 1415.

The Spalatini had expelled the partizans of Hervoye, but the exiles stationed themselves in the island of Solta, and in league with the Poglizzani infested the citizens by land and sea, not without the countenance of the Venetians. These annoyances and the terror inspired by the bombardment and capture of Traü by Loredano decided the Spalatini to surrender themselves to Venice. They sent ambassadors to treat with Loredano at Traü, and on June 24, 1420, they received a Venetian garrison within their walls. From that time the history of Spalato presents no special features, but follows that of the rest of Dalmatia.

An Englishman, however, cannot leave the history of Spalato without some notice of Marc' Antonio de Dominis, the most famous of all its archbishops and the most unfortunate. Born in 1566[1] at Arbe of the noble family of de Dominis, which had given three bishops to the church, and was it is said a branch of the house of Frangipani, Marc' Antonio was educated by the Jesuits at Loreto in a college founded by

[1] Nouv. Biog. Gén., Didot.

Gregory XIII for Illyrian youths[1]. Farlati says he was turbulent, and adds somewhat disingenuously that if he was not expelled, at all events no opposition was made to his departure. He was afterwards professor of philosophy in the university of Padua, and while there wrote his '*de radiis visus et lucis in vitris perspectivis et iride tractatus*[2],' which Sir Isaac Newton pronounced the first explanation that had been given of the colours of the rainbow. His countryman Boscovich pronounced De Dominis very unskilled in optics, and it has been said that his discovery may be 'considered as an anomaly in science, as it is one of a very refined and subtle nature made by a man who has given no other indication of much scientific sagacity or acuteness[3].' His discovery was not complete, and was carried further by Descartes, but the original merit of it is generally accorded to Marc' Antonio.

In 1596 his uncle Antonio, bishop of Segna, was killed by the Turks when accompanying an expedition of the Ban of Croatia for the relief of Clissa. Marc' Antonio aspired to the vacant bishopric, which was given him by the Emperor Rudolf, and in which he was confirmed by the Pope in 1600. Segna was at that time the headquarters of the infamous Uscocs, the terror of both Turk and Christian, and Minuccio Minucci, archbishop of Zara, was directed by the

[1] Illyr. Sacr. vol. iii. p. 481.

[2] It was published at Venice, with his consent, by his pupil Giovanni Bartolo in 1611. Vid. Biogr. Univ.

[3] Hallam, Hist. of Lit. iii. 204.

Pope to confer with the new bishop and concert with him some method of putting an end to their outrages. In this unpromising task Marc' Antonio seems to have acquitted himself creditably, but he was not long at Segna, for in 1602 he was promoted to the vacant archiepiscopal see of Spalato. In this position he exerted himself to improve the education of his clergy, to whom he lectured on logic and the sciences. But his temper and indiscretion betrayed him into an unseemly quarrel with Marco Andreucci, bishop of Traü, whose disobedient canons he received, and whom he rebuked for over-severity. Andreucci replied that the archbishop was interfering with his disciplinary powers, whereupon Marc' Antonio discharged at him the famous letter beginning '*Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare*[1].'

Discontent with the institutions of the church was already working in his mind. He attempted various reforms, tried to restore to the people their ancient privilege of electing their clergy, and made other changes in the direction of a return to primitive usage. Suspicion of heresy began to attach to his preaching, and a canon of the church on one occasion rose from his seat and hurled at him in the midst of the congregation a '*mentiris in gutture*[2].' This could not go on long, and in 1615 Marc' Antonio quitted Spalato for Venice, and resigned his see.

The English ambassador at Venice at that time

[1] The whole letter is given by Farlati.

[2] Farlati, vol. iii.

was Sir Henry Wotton, with whose chaplain Mr. Bedell[1] De Dominis established an intimate friendship. To him he showed the manuscript of his 'de Republica Ecclesiastica,' in which it is said Bedell corrected many misapplications of texts and quotations from the fathers into which De Dominis had been betrayed by his ignorance of Greek. In this book De Dominis supported the main doctrines of the reformation against papal pretensions. The Roman church, he argued, was not a church, but a secular state of which the Pope was the sovereign. The church had no right to employ coercion, or avail herself of the secular arm. The Eucharist was not a sacrifice but a commemorative rite. The theory of inequality of power among the apostles was a mere human invention; and it was only by courtesy that any precedence should be accorded to the bishop of Rome. The Holy Spirit is the real vicar of Christ on earth, and is given to all Christians, not only to the clergy. Celibacy of the clergy was not commendable; the papal claims were a fiction, and Huss had been improperly condemned.

In 1616 De Dominis accompanied his friend Bedell to England, and the first volume of his book was published in the following year. It was examined by the theologians of Paris, who condemned forty-seven of its propositions, and it met with similar treatment from the doctors of Cologne. But its author was received with respect by the English clergy, and

[1] Afterwards Provost of Trin. Coll. Dublin, and Bishop of Kilmore.

James made him Dean of Windsor and Master of the Savoy, which preferments he held together with the rich benefice of West Ilsley in Berkshire.

In 1619 Marc' Antonio edited Fra Paolo Sarpi's 'Storia del Concilio di Trento,' which had been secretly sent to England for publication. In 1618 Nathaniel Brent[1] had been sent to Venice by Archbishop Abbot to procure a copy of the work on which Sarpi was engaged. As fast as it was composed copies of the successive sheets were given to Brent, and sent by him to the archbishop under cover to five or six other persons in order to avoid suspicion. When all had been transmitted Brent returned and translated it into English and Latin, with the assistance to some extent of De Dominis. The Italian version was first published by De Dominis in London in 1619 with a dedication to James I, which gave offence to Fra Paolo, who complained also that De Dominis had made several additions of his own, and had prefaced the book with sundry sarcasms directed against the papacy.

According to Grotius the idea of De Dominis seems to have been to reconcile the Romish and Protestant churches, by the removal of the abuses and superstitions existing in the former. When, therefore, it was hinted to him that his old schoolfellow and acquaintance Gregory XV was ready to accept him as an adviser, and even to give him a cardinal's hat, not only did the suggestion touch the

[1] Afterwards Sir Nathaniel Brent, and Warden of Merton College.

vanity and ambition which were the weak points of his character, but he may have honestly regarded it as an opportunity for his mediation and an opening for the reforms he desired to effect. In 1622 he publicly recanted all he had written against the papacy, and James, justly irritated, deprived him of his benefices and ordered him to quit the kingdom. He repaired to Rome, solemnly abjured his errors, and was favourably received, but after the death of Gregory XV in 1623 fresh suspicion was aroused by certain indiscreet utterances of which he was guilty. Happening to say that his antagonist Bellarmin had not answered his arguments, he was accused of adhering to the opinions expressed in his writings. He hastened to repair his error by saying that while denying that his writings had been answered he did not mean that they were unanswerable, and he offered to answer them himself; but his excuse did not avail to save him. Further accusations were brought against him; it was alleged that he still kept up a correspondence with Protestants, and finally he was thrown into prison in the castle of S. Angelo, where he died in 1624 or 1625, not without suspicion of poison.

An inquiry, after his death, decided against his orthodoxy, and his body was dug up and burned together with his writings in the Campo dei Fiori [1].

[1] The story of De Dominis is told variously by different historians, and is of a kind which one may expect to find coloured by the prejudice of each writer. Vid. Prof. Gardiner's History of England, vol. iv. pp. 282–9.

CHAPTER XI.

Spalato.

Diocletian's Palace. The Duomo. The Campanile. The Peristyle. The Baptistery. Franciscan Convent. Thomas Archidiaconus. Convent of I Paludi. Domestic Architecture.

From Sebenico the steamer threads its way along the channel between the mainland and the island of Zlarin. Beyond Zlarin the chain of islands is interrupted, and for a short time the ship is in the open sea as it rounds the ill-famed headland of La Planca, *promontorium Diomedis*, and passes the little votive chapel built by a grateful mariner who escaped shipwreck on its fatal rocks, and used up his whole cargo of Malvasia wine to mix the mortar.

After passing a new lighthouse on an isolated rock, which was formerly occupied by the Benedictine convent of S. Arcangelo, the course again lies within a shoal of islands, and then near the islet of Kraglievaz, or the King's seat, where Bela IV hid himself from the pursuit of the Tartar hordes, turns into the inland sea of Salona. The passage is interrupted at Traü, where the island of Bua comes so near the mainland that the channel is bridged over. Traü, however, is not on the mainland but on

a little island of its own, joined to the terra firma by a causeway and to the island by a swing bridge. By some bungling mistake this bridge has not been made wide enough to let the larger steamers pass, and after touching at Traü, instead of pursuing a straight course to Spalato by the sea of Salona *inside* the island of Bua, they have to turn back and go round the island on the *outside*, which doubles the distance. Of Traü, as we made a special expedition there afterwards, I need say nothing more at present.

Spalato naturally occupies the central point of interest in the tour of Dalmatia, and as the steamer rounds the long island of Bua the traveller will look eagerly for the first view of Diocletian's home. While the town is still hidden by the island it can be seen that the natural beauties of the situation are considerable. The higher mountains once more approach the shore, and straight in front rises the grand mass of Monte Mossor, bare and craggy, while other mountains on mainland and island in fainter tints melt away in the distant haze. Gradually Spalato comes into sight, not altogether lovely as the view opens, for the first buildings that appear round the shoulder of Mount Marglian are some ugly barracks and an unsightly modern church. These however are soon forgotten, for in a few moments there comes into view the long wall of Diocletian's crypto-porticus, now blank and featureless but for the half-columns between the blocked up arches, but which it is easy to restore in imagina-

tion to its original condition of an open-cloistered walk surmounting a lofty wall, and occupying the whole width of the sea-front of the palace.

Diocletian could hardly have chosen a place for his retreat with greater natural advantages, and it could never have looked more beautiful than on the evening when we first saw it, when mountain and town were bathed by the sunset in richest tints of rose colour and orange, which were reflected in the still water of the haven.

Had Spalato no other claims to our attention, the mere name and character of Diocletian would be enough to make it interesting. His life had been one of activity in the field, and the acutest statesmanship in the court, a life which was nothing if not ambitious, during which he had raised himself from obscurity to the mastership of the world, a dignity which he had been careful to strip of the last faint semblance of popular magistracy and to invest with the trappings of oriental despotism. From all this he retired at the vigorous age of 59, laying aside the diadem which he, first of Roman emperors, had dared to wear, and returning to lead the life of a private citizen in the country and neighbourhood where his father and mother had lived as slaves[1].

[1] His parents had been slaves in the house of Anulinus, a Roman senator. His father probably obtained the freedom of the family, and rose to the rank of scribe. Gibbon, ch. xiii. 'Vir obscurissime natus adeo ut a plerisque scribae filius, a nonnullis Anulini senatoris libertinus fuisse credatur.' Eutropius, lib. x.

Here he grew the famous cabbages whose cultivation he preferred to the cares of empire, and spent the remaining nine years of his life in contented retirement.

He lived to see much of his work undone, and much of his policy reversed. The year 312, preceding that in which he died, is the year of the battle of the Milvian bridge, and the nominal or fabulous date of the conversion of Constantine to the faith which Diocletian had attempted to suppress. He was still living when, in March 313, the edict of Milan was published by Constantine and Licinius which secured religious toleration to all creeds, and reinstated the Christians in the possession of their churches and public lands. One may believe that from his quiet rural home in Dalmatia the ex-emperor perhaps concerned himself but little about this reversal of his old policy, which, so far at least as regarded persecution, had been rather forced upon him by his colleague Galerius than adopted by him willingly. He may even with the shrewd worldly-wisdom of an old statesman have admired the well-timed conversion of his successor. But his old age was embittered by the misfortunes of his wife Prisca and his daughter Valeria, the widow of Galerius. He had entreated that his daughter at all events might be allowed a refuge with him at Salona, but he entreated in vain, and both mother and daughter were exiled and finally butchered by the inhuman Licinius.

A shadow rests on the last days of Diocletian

himself, and it is supposed that he cut short his life by a voluntary death, either to escape the pangs of a chronic malady which tormented him, or to forestall the sentence pronounced against him by the jealousy of Constantine and Licinius [1].

His palace at Spalato remains a monument of the splendour he took with him even into his retirement. More than six centuries after his death it retained so much of its original magnificence that the imperial historian, 'born in the purple' himself and used to the semi-oriental state of Constantinople, declared that it surpassed even in its ruin all powers of description [2]. And even in its present state, ruined, defaced, and overgrown with the mean accretions of fifteen centuries, its vast proportions and solid construction excite our astonishment. So much of it remains that it is easy to recover in imagination what is lost. The principal buildings within the walls, and nearly the whole of the exterior walls themselves remain standing. The two temples are turned into churches, the peristyle forms the town square or piazza, the outer walls still fence in the older town—the original city—and three of the four gates still exist and form the ordinary entrances. The Porta Aenea or eastern gate has indeed disappeared, and a mean modern doorway has taken

[1] Eutropius, ch. x.

[2] *Οὗτος οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον ᾠκοδόμησε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ παλάτια ἐδείματο λόγου καὶ γραφῆς ἁπάσης ἐπέκεινα, ὧν καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας λείψανα φέρονται, κἂν ὁ πολὺς χρόνος αὐτὰ κατηνάλωσεν.* Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. c. xxix.

its place; but the Porta Aurea or north gate still remains, with its bracketed colonnettes and arcadings that seem to have been imitated by Theodoric in his palace at Ravenna; and the Porta Ferrea or west gate, capped with a coquettish mediæval campanile, still admits from the Borgo to the precincts of the older town. Standing in the old peristyle with the blackened and defaced Corinthian colonnade on each side, the portico of the domed vestibule in front, and the two ancient temples to either hand, it is not too much to say that so much of Roman handiwork surrounds one that the later buildings seem mere excrescences upon it, and in this respect no other inhabited relic of the old Roman Empire can be compared with Spalato.

The interior of the palace is naturally changed from its original state even more than the exterior. Within the circuit of what had been one man's house a city has been compressed; for nine and a half acres, though a fair allowance for a palace, is not very large for a town. The refugee inhabitants as their numbers increased had to make the most of their space; the large halls were divided into several houses each, the open squares were covered with buildings, and the wide thoroughfares or streets which intersected the palace were encroached upon and narrowed into miserable alleys, compared with which the streets at Sebenico and Zara are spacious and airy.

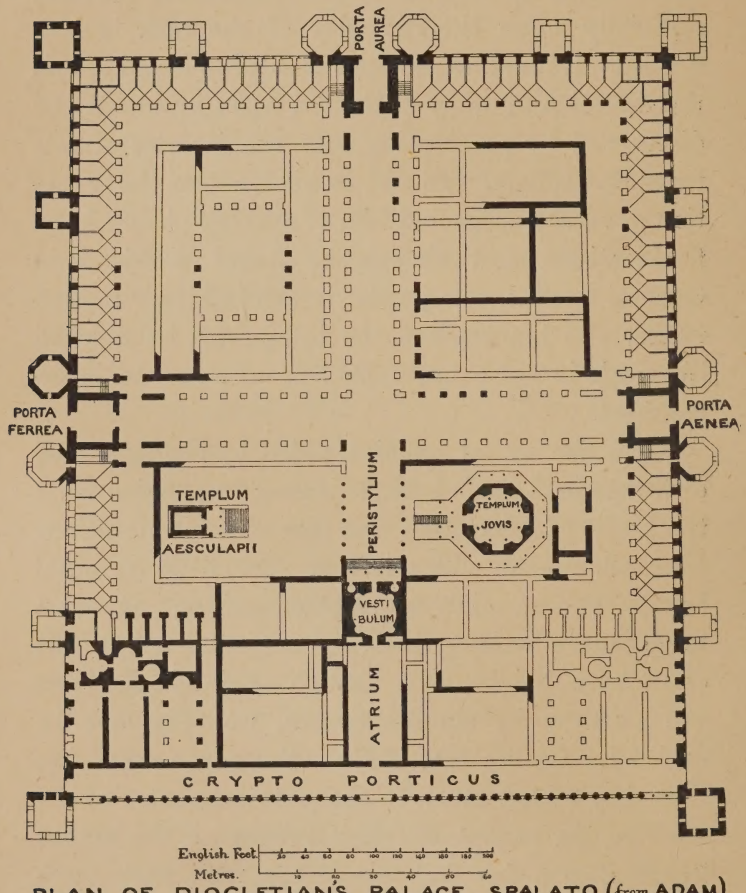
The palace of Diocletian was first reconstructed on paper by the English architect Robert Adam,

one of the *Adelphi*, who visited Spalato in 1757. Recent exploration has discovered a few inaccuracies in his work, but its general correctness is wonderful, especially when the difficulty of the task is considered. He had no previous plan to guide him, and the direction of many of the old walls could only be discovered by penetrating into the interior of cottages and cellars. To add to his troubles the Venetian governor suspected him of making plans of the fortifications, and though he found a friend in General Græme, commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces, who happened to be in Spalato, he finished his work in some haste for fear of a second interruption[1].

From the actual remains, aided by the measured drawings in Adam's book, it is easy to imagine what the house of Diocletian was like when in its prime. Like all Roman villas it had very little external beauty, and certainly no picturesqueness. It was a large square building (Fig. 27) surrounded by walls of uniform height, and though their simple lines were broken by sixteen towers, we must not be misled by recollections of Nuremberg into supposing that they added much to the picturesqueness of the exterior, for except the four towers at the angles which rose a few feet above the rest, they were no higher than the walls to which they were at-

[1] Adam's splendid folio volume on 'The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia,' was published by subscription in 1764 with illustrations, many of which were engraved by Bartolozzi.

tached. Towards the sea the open cloister of the crypto-porticus, which occupied the upper part of the



PLAN OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, SPALATO (from ADAM)

Fig. 27.

front, must have had a good effect, and at each end of this front the external walls are high enough to be impressive. But as the ground rises at once

from the sea-shore, and the building does not rise with it, the general proportions of the palace were low and squat, and it must have looked more like a walled town than a single building.

Nor were there any buildings within the enclosure high enough to make much show above the walls. The Romans had no campaniles or lofty towers like those which group so gracefully in the views of mediæval and modern towns; no churches with high vaulted naves, no lofty cupolas raised on drum and pedentive, soaring above the roofs of private buildings and breaking the general sky-line. Their largest temples were comparatively low, and unless, as at Athens or Corinth or the Roman Capitol, they had advantages of situation on some natural eminence, they cannot have added much to the general view of a city from the exterior. From the country round it, or from the sea, the palace of Diocletian appeared a low square enclosure, over the level walls of which, when one was not too near, might be seen the upper part of the octagonal drum and the low pyramidal roof of a single temple.

On a nearer approach the building increased in interest. Though low relatively to the enormous length of each side, which varied from 570 to about 700 feet, the walls have actually when at the lowest a height of over fifty feet, which becomes over seventy feet towards the sea, owing to the fall of the ground that way [1]. There is no want of

[1] The sea-front with the crypto-porticus is not raised to this, which is the height of the side walls joining it at each end.

scale felt when one is once arrived; everything is vast and overwhelming, and it is with a feeling of awe that one passes under the huge arch stones of the gate. The dignity of the building is worthy of the builder: such stupendous workmanship is only for masters of the world, Egyptian Pharaohs, Roman Cæsars, lords of thousands and tens of thousands, the few or the one among the millions: it has never been possible in any state of society since that of the Roman empire in the fourth century, and it can never be possible again.

Within the gates the plan is artfully contrived on a scale of splendour increasing the farther one advances, on the principle, as Adam observes, of a 'climax in architecture[1].' Two streets crossing one another divided the palace into quarters, except that the main street, running north and south, was not continued through to the south but was interrupted by the imperial apartments. These occupied the whole south front of the palace facing the sea, and were raised on a vaulted basement to bring them to the general level, which was fixed by the higher ground outside the north gate.

Entering by this north gate, the Porta Aurea, one would have found oneself in a street about thirty-six feet wide running between arcaded buildings straight to the vestibule of the imperial residence, of which the portico and dome closed the vista.

Advancing along this street southwards about

[1] Adam, p. 9.

300 feet, one would have found oneself in the centre of the palace, where the two main streets crossed, with a view between arcades right and left to the Porta Aenea eastwards, and the Porta Ferrea westwards.

Continuing our advance southwards there is no occasion for imagination; everything as far as the entrance to the imperial apartments remains to this day. Beyond the crossing the low simple arcades of the north street were exchanged for the lofty and graceful columns and arcades of the peristyle, forming on either hand an open screen through which were seen enclosed courts, right and left, each containing a temple, that of Æsculapius to the right, that of Jupiter to the left. In front, closing the end of the peristyle, was the portico of the vestibule, a circular building with a dome, which has now unfortunately fallen in.

Beyond this vestibule was the atrium or hall of the palace, a nave of ninety-eight by forty-five feet, with a row of columns on each side, and aisles fourteen feet wide; but of this atrium and the rest of the imperial apartments nothing remains perfect; the site is thickly covered by courts and houses, and Adam's restoration is based partly on actual remains of walls and arches which he was able to trace, and partly on conjecture aided by the precepts of Vitruvius. The principal halls and chambers of this part of the palace must have been only one story high, and lighted either from the top or by a clerestory over lower roofs and cor-

ridors[1]. Internally, no doubt, they were sumptuous with marble and mosaic, and the courts may have been gay with flowers and plants, but except from the crypto-porticus and three or four of the imperial apartments there can have been no view of the beauties of the scenery beyond the walls.

The motive that drew Adam to Spalato was the desire to supplement the knowledge of ancient architecture which, like other students, he had derived from temples and public buildings, by the study of a private Roman residence, of which in his day Spalato was almost the only example. Though we have Pompeii to refer to, which had then only just been discovered[2], Spalato still remains unrivalled as the most perfect example of domestic Roman architecture which has come down to us, and its value in this respect is not diminished since Adam's day.

But to students of modern architecture the

[1] Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of two and even three storied buildings, *διόροφα καὶ τριόροφα*, but these cannot have been the principal apartments, and were probably those abutting on the outer walls of the east, north, and west sides, and perhaps part of the two blocks in the north-east and north-west quarters of the enclosure. Adam suggests that over the vaults and arcades that abutted on the outer walls to the west, north and east, outside the part appropriated for the imperial residence, there were galleries for the library, the pictures, and the museum. But this is purely conjectural. Adam observes that he found no traces of any chimneys or fire-places. The rooms were probably heated by hypocausts and hot-air flues in the walls, such as those still to be seen in the Roman villa at Bignor in Sussex.

[2] Pompeii was only discovered in 1748, and in Adam's time little was to be seen there.

palace of Spalato has another value. Like the coeval buildings of Palmyra and Baalbec it marks the era of a fresh departure in architecture, which began by relaxing the rules of the styles of antiquity, and ended in the development of the styles of modern Europe. In many of the irregularities of the classic work at Spalato may be detected the germs of those forms of Romanesque and Byzantine art which were as yet unborn. Many members that had hitherto been considered necessary to the order are arbitrarily omitted, or altered in character and proportion and treated with a freedom that had not till that time been dreamed of. The doors of the vestibule and of both the temples have only an architrave and cornice without a frieze; the crypto-porticus has no frieze and no distinct architrave, but only a cornice with two facias below it; the whole entablature audaciously springs into an arch in the vestibule and in the sea-front; the crypto-porticus has capitals consisting of a plain bell and abacus, almost anticipating the severe moulded capitals of our northern twelfth century work; the modillions are spaced without reference to the trusses or other features below, and are sometimes placed on salient or even internal angles [1]; and the proportion of the architrave is enormously increased at the expense of the frieze and cornice, which in the peristyle are reduced till the frieze is little more than a roll moulding, and the cornice well on the way towards

[1] Vid. Adam, Pl. xxxii. xlviii.

dwindling into the Gothic string-course [1]. Among other novelties is the decoration by miniature arcading in the Porta Aurea (Fig. 28), which is, so far as I know, the earliest instance of an archi-

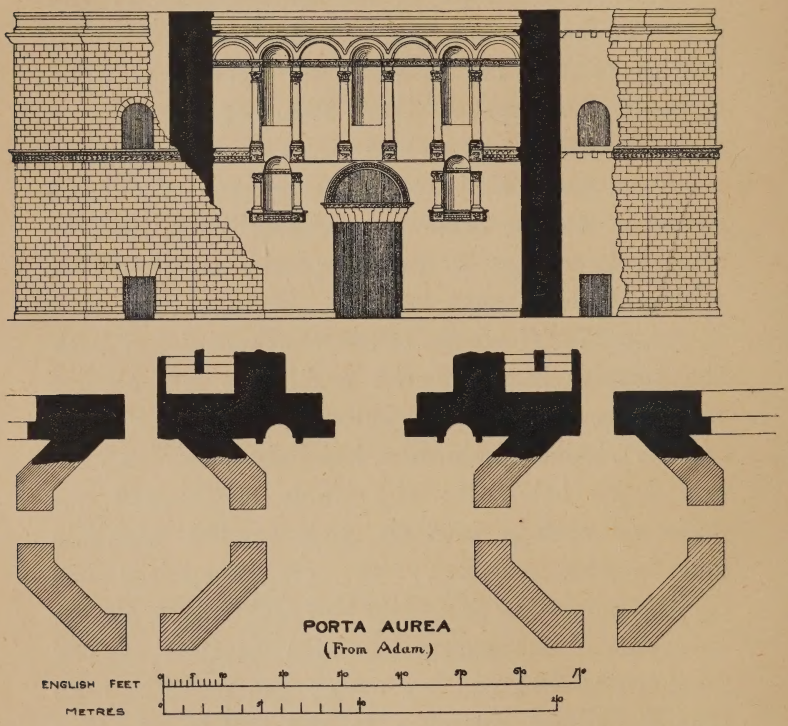


Fig. 28.

tectural ornament that was to play so large a part in Romanesque and Gothic work, and which is but a few steps removed from the arcading in the Duomo at Zara built a thousand years later. The corbelling on which the colonnettes of this arcading

[1] Adam, Pl. xxii.

stand is also a novelty, and it is remarkable that the whole of the attached columns of the crypto-porticus overhang the wall face, resting on returns of the string-course below which form corbels to receive them. New profiles are given to the mouldings; new ornaments, such as the zigzag, make their first appearance; and the arches are in many cases, notably in the peristyle, turned simply from column to column without any interposed relic of the entablature.

The steps by which this final emancipation of the arch was arrived at may easily be traced. Over the central intercolumniations of the vestibule, and over two openings in the crypto-porticus, the whole entablature of architrave frieze and cornice had been made to spring as an arch from column to column, and the idea of its being *a beam* was thus definitely given up. From this it was a short step to the omission of the frieze and cornice, which, after all, jumped but clumsily round the arch, and the retention of the architrave alone; and another short step led to springing an arch from the column to both hands, right and left, instead of only to one.

This final abandonment of the forms of trabeated construction, which had so long survived its principles, marks a decided break with the traditional style, and a decided step in a new direction. Professor Freeman pronounces it 'the greatest step ever taken, the beginning of all the later forms of consistent arched architecture, Romanesque or Gothic

or any other,' and he claims for the architect of this palace at Spalato the honour of having been the first to take it[1].

However this may be, and whether or not this is the place, it is tolerably certain that this is the time when this mode of turning arches directly from the capital first appears in architecture. At Baalbec there are examples of arched entablatures like those noticed above at Spalato, and at Diocletian's baths in Rome there were arches which sprang direct from the capital, according to Palladio's drawings[2], though the arches themselves are no longer standing. The change was very nearly being made at Athens in Hadrian's time, where the frieze and cornice are stopped over a column and the architrave alone springs from it as an arch[3]; and D'Agincourt gives examples of arches springing directly from columns without entablature taken from terra-cotta panels and sarcophagi found in the catacombs, which might perhaps imply an earlier date for the innovation than the age of Diocletian. It is with D'Agincourt one mark of the degradation of the art of the fourth century, but this and all the other irregularities at Spalato are so well executed and artistically managed that it seems mere pedantry to condemn them as

[1] Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, p. 151. E. A. Freeman.

[2] So says Adam in his note to Pl. xx., but in the collection of Palladio's drawings published by Lord Burlington, to which Adam refers, I have not succeeded in finding any arches of this kind.

[3] Vid. Stuart's Athens, vol. iii. ch. iv. pl. ii., 'aqueduct of Hadrian.'

barbarisms of men who would have done better if they could. If, as seems likely, the architect of Spalato deliberately forsook the old paths because he found a clue that led him to a new one, he should surely be praised for having enriched his art, rather than blamed for degrading it—

> 'Nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca
> Ausi deserere.'

There are nevertheless some signs of barbarism in the work at Spalato. In one or two instances I cannot help thinking the spoils of an older building have been used second hand, in the way so common a century or two later when technical skill had sunk lower. One column in the peristyle of the temple of Jupiter is too large for the capital that rests on it, and the columns of the upper order of the interior, stumpy in proportion, only seven diameters high and set without any bases on the cornice of the lower order, look suspiciously like clumsy adaptations of ready-made materials. On no other hypothesis can I account for the difference in style between the capitals of this upper order and those of the rest of the work; it is not only that they are composite or quasi-composite while the rest are Corinthian, but that, while every other piece of foliage is raffled in the Greek manner, these are raffled in the Roman manner, and executed in an entirely different way and evidently by a different school of carvers, and to all appearance they once belonged to a different building.

The Greek feeling that has inspired the carving throughout the building is one of the first points that will strike an architect, and it did not escape the observation of Adam [1]. That the architect was a Greek is likely enough, nothing was commoner under the Roman Empire, even at much greater distances from Greece [2]. Professor Hauser, the government architect now in charge of the Duomo, says the mason's marks he has found have the form of Greek letters [3], which is an interesting confirmation of the inference to be drawn from the character of the carving. The bricks of the dome, on the contrary, have the Roman stamp on them, and were probably imported from Italy or Friuli.

The Duomo.

From the peristyle of the palace, with its columns of cipollino and rose-coloured granite, a flight of steps still leads, as it has done since the days of Diocletian, to the ancient temple which is now the Duomo of Spalato (Figs. 29, 30). Originally this stood detached in a walled courtyard (vid. Fig. 27) with the colonnade of the peristyle as an open screen in front. The building is externally an octagon

[1] Vid. the note to his plate, No. xlvii.

[2] When the younger Pliny wrote to his lord Trajan for an architect to see to the settlements that had occurred in the theatre at Nicaea, Trajan replied 'ne existimes brevius esse ab urbe mitti quum ex Graecia etiam ad nos venire soliti sunt' (sc. Architecti), Letter xlix.

[3] Ueber Spalato und die römischen Monumente Dalmatiens.

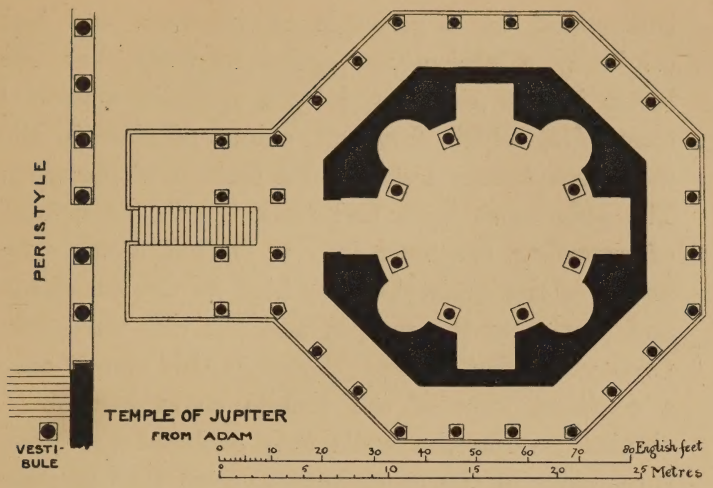

PERISTYLE
TEMPLE OF JUPITER
FROM ADAM
VESTI-
BULE
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 English feet
0 5 10 15 20 25 Metres

Fig. 29.

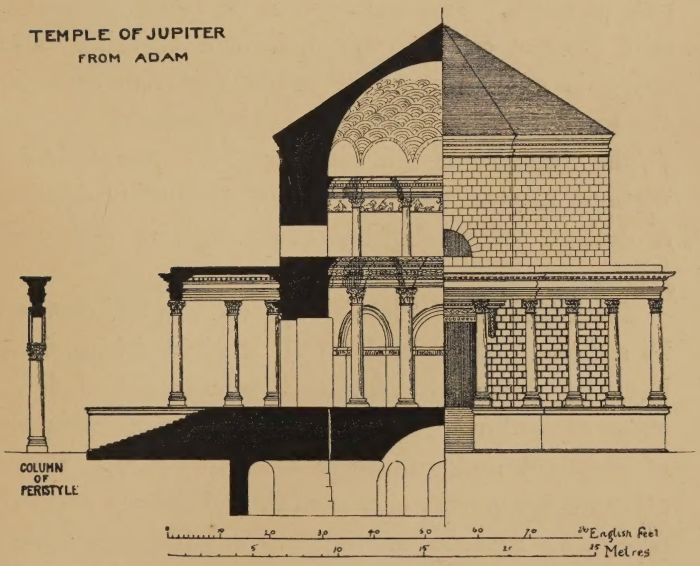
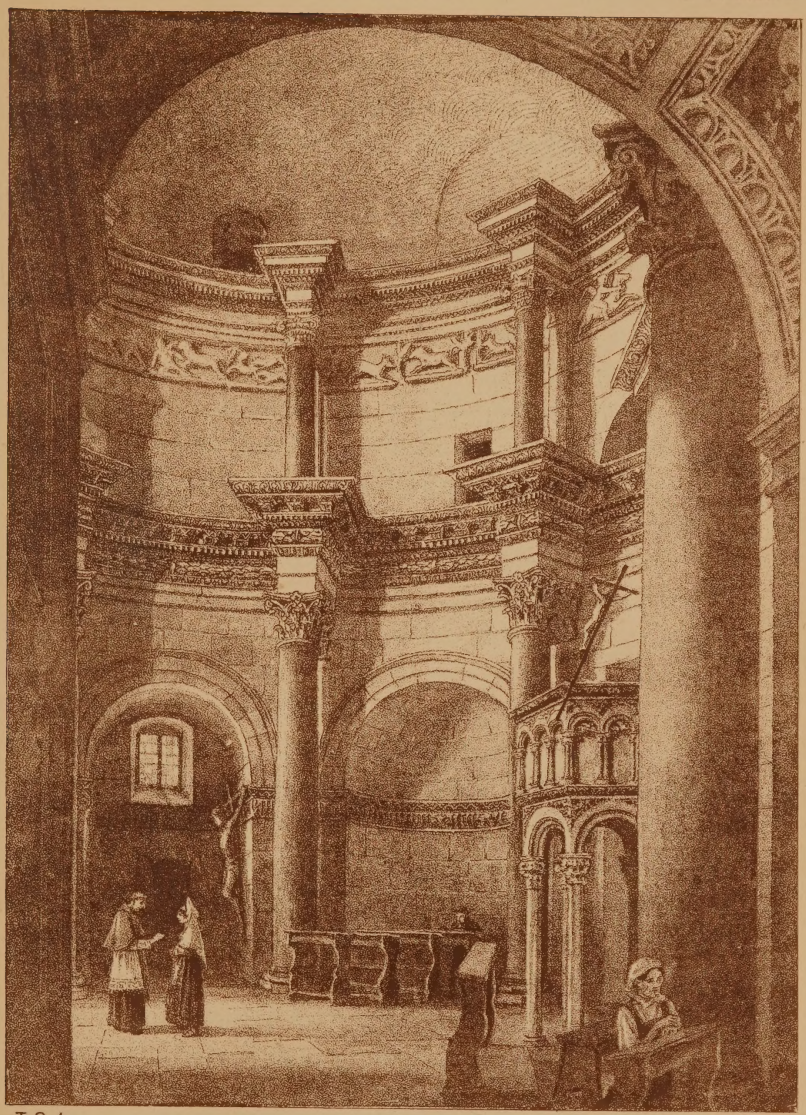

TEMPLE OF JUPITER
FROM ADAM
COLUMN
OF
PERISTYLE
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 English Feet
0 5 10 15 20 25 Metres

Fig. 30.

surrounded by a peristyle of its own, and had originally a projecting portico in front, but the latter is now supplanted by a splendid mediæval campanile, which from all points of view is the most conspicuous architectural feature of the town. The plan must have had from the first the fault of crowding too much into a limited area. The screen of the peristyle is as high as the colonnade and portico of the temple, and the two were only twenty-five feet apart. Through this screen only a confused view of the temple could have been obtained, while the walls that enclosed the other three sides of the court were so close that no view of it whatever could have been had from the north east or south. The intrusion of the great campanile still further crowds the buildings together, and there is only a space of seven feet left between the tower and the colonnade of the peristyle.

The masonry of the exterior of the temple is set without mortar, stone to stone, each stone having a drafted edge slightly sunk at the bed and joints.

The interior (vid. Plate XVI) is circular and covered by a dome. The circular wall is divided into eight bays by detached columns two orders in height, those of the lower order of granite, those of the upper of porphyry and granite in alternate pairs. These columns are purely ornamental, and merely support projecting returns of the two entablatures which surround the building. They afford a typical instance of the independence of ornament and construction



T.G.J.

The Duomo.

TINT-PHOTO. EPHRAIM & C. LONDON

in Roman architecture, for they could be removed without in any way impairing the fabric, and in fact when I first saw the building, in 1882, they actually had been removed and were lying on the ground.

And here it is time to touch on the disappointment that has attended my visits to Spalato. I found both temple and campanile in process of restoration; the latter was so encased in massive scaffolding as to be quite hidden; the Piazza, which is the ancient peristyle of the palace, was half enclosed with hoarding, which prevented anything like an effective view of its interesting architecture; and both in 1882 and 1884 the interior of the Duomo was blocked with scaffolding. In 1882 the whole of the columns were removed, and the architectural features were in process of severe restoration, which at the time of my second visit was completed, although the scaffolding was still standing. On revisiting Spalato in 1885 I found the interior cleared of its encumbrances and once more restored to use, and it was then for the first time possible to judge of the effect of the building. The extensive restoration it has suffered has injured its antique character; but, while regretting the amount of glaring white stone that has been introduced, one may be thankful that the restorers have allowed those old stones which have been spared to remain grey and blackened with age, and have not scraped them white to match the new as some would have done. The lower entablature has, with the exception of a few

stones, been entirely renewed, together with the eight Corinthian capitals. Of the upper entablature the whole of the cornice has been renewed in Curzola stone, and part of the frieze and architrave. As the dome springs from this cornice it was necessary, in order to insert the new stone, to cut out the brick-work of the dome all round the building and to reset it afterwards, a process not likely to increase its stability, and most damaging to its appearance of antiquity. The old reliefs that run round below the entablature have been retained, and for so much we may be thankful, but the capitals of the upper order, which are in very good preservation, have been consigned to the limbo of the museum, and are represented by copies. The capitals of the lower order had certainly become decayed to an extent that perhaps justified their renewal, but by the removal of these eight upper capitals a most unnecessary injury has been done to the antiquity of the building.

In the details of the architecture there are many departures from strict classic usage. The corona has entirely disappeared from the cornice of the lower order, and the bedmould is bevelled instead of being moulded. The different members are richly loaded with ornament, but the execution of it is rough and hasty; in the cymatium the foliage is simply traced on the surface of the moulding, and the ground square sunk; and the same is the case with the egg and dart on the upper member of the architrave, which is worked on a mere splay and not, as usual, on

an ovolo, and has a very debased look. In all this may perhaps be seen evidences of hasty completion, as if the palace were required for occupation without proper time being allowed to the artists to do themselves justice.

The entablature of the lower order projects far enough to form a gallery round the church, which is reached by a stair in the thickness of the wall. On this the eight columns of the upper order are set without any plinth or base; some of them having at their lower end the apophyge and fillet, while others are cut off square. This, together with the low proportion of the order, which is seven diameters in height instead of ten, seems to me conclusive that they are spoils from an older building somewhat clumsily adapted to their present position; and here, if I am right, there is something symptomatic of a decline towards barbarism. I have noticed above the difference between the Roman character of the upper and the Greek character of the lower capitals as another indication of the use of materials not originally prepared for the building.

The dome is very curiously constructed of brickwork in a succession of relieving arches arranged like scales: this extends for only about half-way up, and the central part is built in the ordinary way of brickwork in concentric courses. The dome is covered externally by a low pyramidal roof of red tiling, but it has been questioned whether it was thus finished originally. Adam observes that it was unusual for the Romans to finish buildings of this kind with a

pointed roof, and that the flat dome was the more favourite form for the exterior covering, but he adds that, having found the Roman stamp S. P. Q. R. on several of the tiles, he thought there was no room to doubt the antiquity of the present form of the roof. Cavalier Andrich[1] on the other hand maintains not only that the dome was exposed externally, but that in the centre it had an eye to light the building like the dome of the Pantheon at Rome, and perhaps that of the vestibule here, though as the latter is now ruined there is nothing to tell us whether it was so constructed. A close examination of the dome, for which the scaffolding afforded opportunities at the time of my visit, brought to light nothing to confirm the notion of a central eye. The brickwork of the central part of the dome seems original, and an examination of the outside, which I made in company with Prof. Bulić, the Conservator of Ancient Monuments, by creeping in between the brick dome and the tiled roof, seemed to prove conclusively that the dome was never visible externally, for the brickwork is very roughly finished on the upper side, and could never have been intended to be seen. In its present state the pyramidal roof is very irregular, not coming to a good point; and it is now raised at the eaves on a low rubble wall, though no doubt it once came down to the eaves' cornice. It has at the apex a piquant little romanesque finial (Fig. 31), which cannot be later than the thirteenth century,

[1] Eitelberger, Dalmatiens, p. 254.

showing that the roof is at all events as old as that time, and, in fact, everything combines to prove that the building was originally covered with a pointed roof, and had neither a central eye nor a dome visible externally. I did not see any tiles stamped with S. P. Q. R., but a very large part of the roof is still covered with Roman tiling, and several tiles bear the stamp Q . CLODAMBROS, the name of a maker, Quintus Clodius Ambrosianus, whose tiles abound at Salona, and whose potteries were most probably, as I afterwards learned, situated at Aquileja [1].

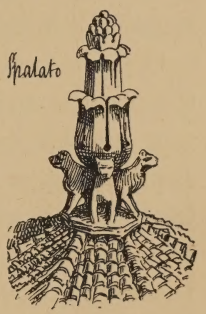


Fig. 31.

Below the floor of the duomo is a curious crypt, which is approached by a narrow passage that turns at a right angle, and passes under the flight of steps that led to the main entrance of the temple. The vaulting of this crypt is very roughly constructed of brick and rubble, and stands quite independently of the main walls on piers of its own, between which are arches to admit light from small openings in the pavement of the peristyle surrounding the temple. In these arches may be seen the main circular wall of the temple, built of wrought stone, running down behind and quite clear of this vaulting, which was not bonded to it in any way. I do not know whether this peculiarity has been noticed before. The vault is paved with solid stones about

[1] Vid. infra, Aquileja, chap. xxxv.

one foot six inches thick, left rough on the upper side, and laid all over the surface, so that the main walls rest on them.

The peristyle surrounding the temple was originally roofed over with slabs of stone wrought and coffered on the soffit. Most of these have disappeared, together with most of the upper members of the entablature, and the statues, which, from the marks of dowels and cramps, there is reason to believe once crowned the cornice of this ambulatory round the building.

Opinion is divided as to the original purpose of the present duomo. Throughout the middle ages it was always supposed to have been a temple of Jupiter, but a theory has been started in modern times that it was intended by Diocletian for his own tomb-house[1]. This theory is based on the idea that Diocletian would certainly have provided a tomb-house for himself somewhere within the building, and that this seems more nearly to correspond to the conception of a tomb-house than any other building within the walls. On the other hand some have found the tomb-house in the other temple, generally supposed to have been dedicated to Aesculapius, and now serving as the Baptistery of Spalato[2]. Again,

[1] '*This building is commonly called a temple, though it is not known to what deity it was dedicated. My own impression is that it was a tomb, or at least a funeral monument of some sort.*' Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, 1855, p. 314. This opinion is, I believe, shared by Prof. Glavinić, till lately Conservator of Ancient Monuments at Spalato.

[2] 'Das Baptisterium der Domkirche von Spalato ist ein Baudenkmal aus den Zeiten des Kaisers Diocletian, welches neuere

there is the statement of an old historian[1], quoted by Farlati, that the burial place of Diocletian was in one of the southern towers of the outer wall, and that about a century before his time the Emperor's body was discovered there in a porphyry sarcophagus, which he describes. There is again the possibility that the vault below the so-called temple of Jupiter was intended for the Emperor's burial-place, though the rudeness of the place and the narrow and awkward approach militate against this notion, unless we suppose that the sarcophagus was placed within the vault before it was closed, and that it was intended to lower the corpse through an opening in the vaulting. The popular tradition that assigns the two temples to Jove and Aesculapius is at least older than the thirteenth century, and it is quoted by Thomas Archidiaconus as if it had never been questioned[2]. The passage in Constantine Porphyro-

Alterthumsforscher als das Mausoleum desselben bezeichnet haben.' Eitelberger, Dalmat. ed. 1884, p. 284.

[1] Giov. Tomco. Marnavich of Sebenico, born 1579, Bishop of Bosnia 1635, compiled a large MS. volume *de Illyrico, Caesaribusque Illyricis,* which Fortis saw in a mutilated state. He is supposed to have had access to the Verantian MSS., and to have plagiarized therefrom; vid. sup. vol. I. p. 178. He is quoted by Farlati on this subject, tom. ii. p. 414.

[2] 'Imperiale palatium in quo templa facta sunt Idolorum, Jovis, Asclepii, sicut apparet usque in hodiernum diem, ch. iv.; and again, ch. xi., describing the conversion of this building into a church, A.D. 650, 'templum Jovis, quod in ipso Augustali aedificio excelsioribus fuerat structuris erectum, ab Idolorum mundavit figmentis, januas in eo serasque constituens.' Farlati, i. 489, quotes Piet. Nicolini to the effect that a statue of Jove in the Museum of the Capella family, at Venice, was the image once venerated in this temple.

genitus, which speaks of the church of St. Domnus as having been the κοιτὼν of Diocletian [1], is adduced to support the other view; but if κοιτὼν may be understood of a tomb, which seems very doubtful, it would meet the case if the crypt had been the tomb-house.

Some stress has been laid on the subjects of the bas-reliefs that run round the building level with the capitals of the upper order. They consist of little figures of winged boys riding on horseback, or driving chariots, or engaged in the chase with hounds in pursuit of stags or goats, or fighting with wild beasts. Among these there are a few masks, and in one case a bust within a wreath supported by two children, and to these masks it is supposed some funereal significance should be attached. Considering however the character of the remaining figures one can hardly accept this as of much weight.

The floor space of the little circular duomo—it is only forty-three feet three inches in diameter between the walls, and thirty-five feet three inches in clear of the columns—is somewhat encroached upon by two Gothic canopied shrines or chapels that stand right and left of the high altar opposite the door, filling up and partly obliterating two of the original semicircular niches. They are very elaborate and handsome, and add to the picturesqueness of the interior not a little. That to the right is the older of the two; it is dedicated to S. Doimo, and was made in 1427 by one Bonino of Milan, as is recorded

[1] ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Δόμνου, ἐν ᾧ κατάκειται ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Δόμνος, ὅπερ ἦν κοιτὼν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ. De Adm. Imp. c. xxix.

by an inscription on a marble tablet beside it, from which this is an extract :—

MILLE QVATERCENTVM DVM PHEBVS VOLVERET ANNOS
ETIAM TER NONOS NOVEMBRIS MENSE PERACTVM.

The foregoing is in Lombardic lettering, and then follows in Roman characters :—

M · BONINVS · DE · MILANO · FECIT · ISTAM · CAPELLAM
· ET · SEPOLTVRAM.

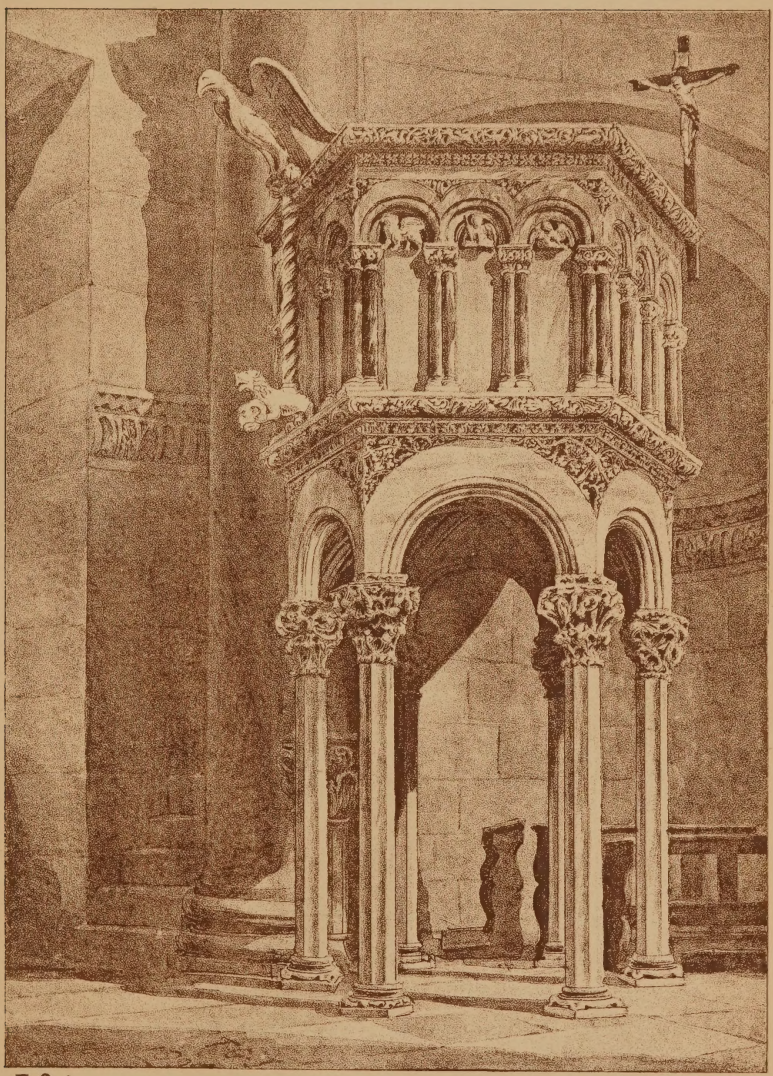
The chapel consists of a square space under a heavy gabled canopy, of which one corner is embedded in the wall and the other three are carried by octagonal columns prettily studded with trefoils inlaid with black cement. At the back is a reredos with five panels of reliefs. In the middle is the Virgin with the infant Saviour ; to their right a bishop, probably S. Doimo (Domnus), and S. Anastasio with his mill-stone round his neck ; and on their left St. Mark with his lion, perhaps out of compliment to Venice, and St. Peter with his keys. Above is a canopy formed by angels supporting a curtain, but the reclining figure of S. Doimo within and the angel hovering above are only of plaster.

The other chapel, dedicated to S. Anastasio, was made in 1448 by Giorgio Orsini, who was bound by his contract to make his work match the opposite chapel of S. Doimo[1]. But though the general design corresponds, the carving is very inferior to the work of Bonino, which is excellent, while in Giorgio's work the foliage is cut up and confused, and the figures

[1] Fosco, Sebenico, p. 13.

are wanting in simplicity and ill-modelled. The best figures in the panels are St. Jerome and a bishop, perhaps Doimo; the figure of S. Anastasio under the canopy above can scarcely be seen for want of light, but it seems not without merit.

The pulpit (vid. Plate XVII), which stands near the entrance, is by far the most interesting object under the dome, and may challenge comparison with any similar work of the middle ages. It is made of marbles of various colours and the compact limestone of the country, which is not inferior to marble in beauty and is superior to it as a material for carving. The body of the pulpit is a hexagon measuring three feet two inches on each face, and it rests on six octagonal columns, each arranged with one face to the angle of the hexagon above. The mouldings of their bases are circular and rest on a square plinth, and their capitals are irregularly square, each face being slightly bulged outwards. The limestone is used for base and capital and an inch and a half of the shaft below the necking, the rest of the shafts being of veined white marble. The capitals are carved with the richest fancy of romanesque art, and consist of an intricate mass of winged beasts and foliage intertwined, elaborately undercut, and detached from the bell. In point of technical execution and ingenuity of design I know nothing in romanesque art to surpass them (vid. Fig. 32). The round arches of marble which spring from the capitals have well-developed mouldings of a Gothic character, and the spandrils, which are not divided at the angle of the



T.G.J

Pulpit in Duomo.

INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & Co LONDON.

hexagon, are carved with interlacing foliage like that of the capitals. The floor of the pulpit is marked by a marble cornice of two richly carved members. The body of the pulpit above overhangs by the projection of little columns of porphyry and rich

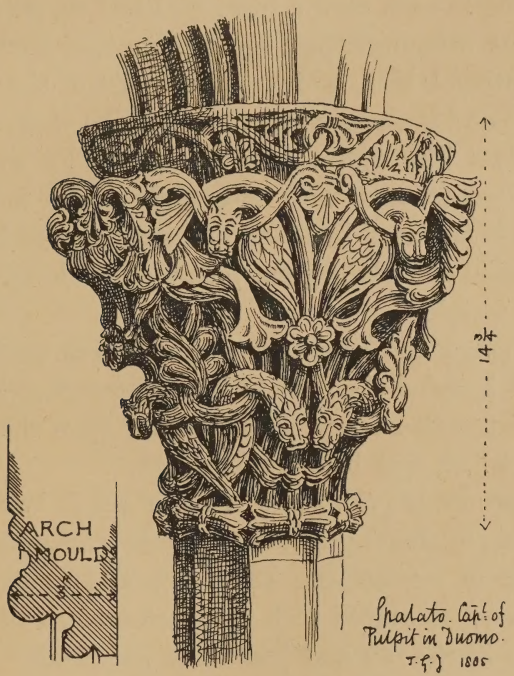


Fig. 32.

marbles supported on the cornice, and standing in advance of the white marble panels. Their capitals have romanesque carving like those below, and the arches are well moulded. The heads of the arches are worked in a rich breccia, and each contains a piece of sculpture; among these sculptures are

several angels, a winged bull very regularly curled, a winged lion, an eagle, several rosettes, and a lamb with cross and nimbus under the book-desk. An elaborately carved cornice finishes the upper part. The book-rest is formed by a well-modelled eagle grasping in each claw a little bird and supported by a spiral colonnette springing from the back of a conventional lion, which projects from the lower cornice and grasps a winged serpent like those in the capitals. The pulpit floor is carried by vaulting really constructed with ribs and panels, and the ascent is managed by a winding stair carried behind and round one of the great pillars of the lower order of the temple.

Although the ornament is purely romanesque I should imagine the date to be in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, from the analogy of the great doors, which will be next described.

These doors (vid. Plate XVIII) are in two flaps, each flap containing fourteen panels surrounded by borders of romanesque knot-work and scrolls, and each panel is carved with a representation of some subject in the life and passion of our Lord. Some of them are much decayed or mutilated, but the greater number are in admirable preservation considering their antiquity and material. Not only their date, but the name of the artist who made them is given by Farlati in a passage of his Illyricum Sacrum[1], in which he says their workmanship is

[1] 'Cujus valvas ex antiquo ligno mira soliditate ad tineam et cariem arcendam praedito anno 1214 Andreas Buvina eximius ea

so good that it must be seen to be believed. According to him the doors were carved in the year 1214 by Andrea Buvina; but if, as seems probable, his information was taken from a MS. at Traü which is cited by Professor Eitelberger[1], the name of the artist was not Buvina but Guvina. This MS. is in the possession of Conte Fanfogna-Garagnin, podestà of Traü, who was kind enough to allow me to copy it. It is a note in handwriting of the fifteenth century on the fly-leaf of an important and well-known MS. of Thomas Archidiaconus, transcribed in the time of the Emperor Sigismund, which is one of the treasures of Conte Fanfogna's valuable library. The note runs as follows:

Hoc tp̄e edificate fuerunt Janue maiores cū figuris & istoriis de nativitate & passione dn̄i nr̄i yh̄u xp̄i eccl̄ie ſc̄i Dompni de Spaleto p̄ magr̄m Andr̄eā Guuin̄ā ṕnctor̄e de Spaleto et sub eod̄ē tp̄r̄ depicta fuit ymago et figura sc̄i xp̄ofori ı̄plancato sc̄i dompnii pdc̄i p̄ pdc̄m magr̄m A sub annis dn̄i nr̄i ȳx́ cur̄en̄tſ ↄ·cc̈xiiii° mſſ a p̄lis die xxiii° exeunte . . . . (*one word missing*).

The doors, then, were carved by Messer Andrea Guvina, painter of Spalato, who also at the same time painted a figure of St. Christopher for the duomo in the year 1214, and this is a date of the greatest importance in the history of Dalmatian

tempestate sculptor tessellato opere caelavit . . . opus omnino visendum cujus eximiam pulchritudinem artemque exquisitam nemo concipere animo potest qui non oculis ante subjecerit.' Farlati, Illyr. Sacr. i. p. 491.

[1] Eitelberger, Dalmatiens, p. 275, ed. 1884. He reads it incorrectly.

art. It is also interesting if, as is asserted, Guvina is a Slavonic name, to observe that the Slavs who settled within the Dalmatian pale, and became latinized, showed a capacity for art which did not reach development among their brethren who remained without. The style of Guvina's work has nothing distinctively Slavonic about it, but is thoroughly romanesque, and the scroll-work carved on the main cross-framing is obviously inspired by the similar ornaments that surround the door of the smaller of the two temples of Diocletian's palace, though they far surpass their prototype in fancy and equal it in technical merit.

The subjects of the panels, so far as they can be made out, are given in the table on the opposite page.

The whole of the carving was once gilt, and the ground picked out with red, as may be seen from traces still remaining in the upper part of the doors where the lintel has sheltered them from the weather.

I give an illustration of two of the panels with the surrounding borders of scroll-work (Plate XVIII). These doors are among the earliest as well as the finest specimens of mediæval wood-work in existence, and deserve all the praise that Farlati bestows on them[1].

[1] The doors during the repairs of the duomo were taken off their hinges and laid on their sides in the Temple of Aesculapius, now the baptistery, where they were still lying when I last saw them in 1885.

T.G.J.

Panels of door of Duomo.

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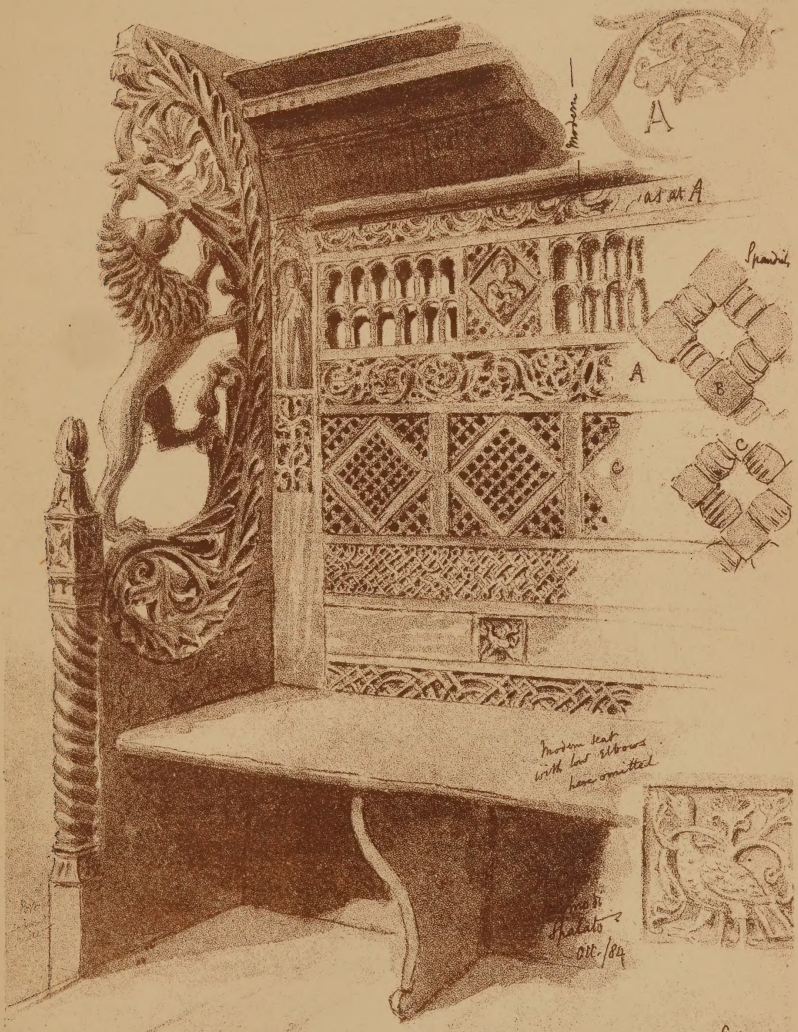
LEFT FLAP.		RIGHT FLAP.	
1. The Annunciation.	2. The Nativity. The Virgin in bed —cradle above— oxen, &c.	27. The Last Judgment. Christ on one side holding his hand towards little figures issuing from tombs.	28. The Ascension. Christ in a circle borne up by two angels on each side.
3. The Three Wise Men travelling.	4. The Wise Men worshipping.	25. The taking down from the Cross.	26. The Entombment.
5. The Massacre of the Innocents.	6. The Flight into Egypt.	23. The Flagellation.	24. The Crucifixion.
7. The Presentation.	8. The Baptism.	21. The Betrayal.	22. Christ before Pilate or Herod. A figure with pointed cap and sceptre.
9. The miracle at Cana.	10. The Temptation.	19. Washing the disciples' feet.	20. The Agony in the Garden.
11. Healing the demoniac (?).	12. Christ and the woman of Samaria.	17. The Entry into Jerusalem.	18. The Last Supper.
13. Healing the lame and blind.	14. The raising of Lazarus (?).	15. The sending out of the Seventy (?).	16. Christ weeping over Jerusalem. A tower of several stages.

The original recess opposite the entrance-door of the temple has been cut through, and admits to a rectangular choir which has been built further to the east. The construction of this new choir is due to the famous archbishop Marc' Antonio de Dominis, and the Jesuit Farlati, who naturally had little liking for him, says this is the only good thing he has left behind him[1]. It contains nothing remarkable but the stalls, which were formerly, as Farlati describes them, placed in the temple under the dome, and which with the two chapels and the pulpit must have left scarcely any vacant floor-space. Their design is excessively curious (vid. Plate XIX), their lattice-work panels being quite un-European in design, and almost identical with the window lattices of Cairo. The interlacing borders of the styles and rails in the back, and the little animals which are introduced among them—a duck, a lamb, a horse, a dog or wolf, an elephant represented as usual with hocks like a horse—have a thoroughly romanesque character, and they resemble so closely the doors made by Guvina in 1214 that there is little doubt about their being by the same hand and of the same date. The end standards with their grand ramping

[1] 'Illud tamen praeclarum gratum probatumque omnibus quod satis amplum et elegans odeum exstruxit, in quo Canonici caeterique inferioris ordinis presbyteri et clerici quotidianae psalmodiae operam darent ac divinas laudes concinerent, cum aede metropolitana scite et venuste conjunxit. Antea siquidem canonici subselliis in ipsa media templi area hinc atque hinc dispositis statione et sibi et populo perincommoda utebantur.' Farlati, Illyr. Sacr. vol. iii.



"TINY PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON

T.G.J. del. 1884.

SPALATO

Choir Stalls in Duomo.

lions and sweeping scrolls are obviously in a different style, and are very fine examples of Venetian woodwork of the fifteenth century. The upper part of the backs has been damaged and restored with a classic cornice, which is not older than the date of their removal to the new choir. There is a story among the clergy of the duomo that the stalls were wilfully damaged in this way by the nobles of Spalato, because the chapter had elected a canon without their consent or participation and in defiance of their ancient rights [1].

The restoration of the interior of the duomo is now happily over, and one knows the worst as regards that part: its new-fangled splendour is but a poor compensation for the loss of the original work of the fourth century, battered and defaced as it was. The exterior has still to be dealt with, and the extent to which the restoration will be carried depends perhaps more on considerations of expense than anything else. It is proposed of course to restore the stone ceiling of the octagonal peristyle surrounding the temple, and there has actually been proposed a frightful scheme for building a large new cathedral to which Diocletian's temple is to form a vestibule. It is scarcely credible that so monstrous a defacement of the plan of the palace, which is unique among relics of ancient art, should find favour

[1] Is this a mutilated version of the violent disturbance described by Thom. Archid. ch. xlii. on the occasion of the election to the abbey of S. Stefano, in which the laity had been refused a voice? or of that attending his own election to the archbishopric, c. xlv, on the same account?

with any one of the least pretension to reverence for antiquity, proper historic sense, or simple good taste. If a new cathedral for Spalato is really wanted it should be built outside the gates of Diocletian's palace in the suburb towards Monte Margliano, where an admirable and convenient site may be found in a thickly populated quarter of the town, without any interference with the inestimably precious antiquities of Spalato.

The next monument however to be restored is not one of Diocletian's buildings, but the mediæval campanile that bestrides the approach to the temple of Jupiter. This tower was already encased in massive scaffolding in 1882, which was still standing idle in 1885, no beginning having been made with the restoration. This work is one that needed attention much more urgently than the restoration of the temple; the latter would have stood in its timeworn state to the world's end, and many of us would have been heartily glad if it had never been meddled with; but the tower shows evident signs of impending dissolution, and the sooner it is taken in hand the better. Built without any foundation, and based solely on the old steps and platform in front of the temple of Jupiter, which by a mistaken economy were utilized for the substructure, pierced moreover in the ground story by the wide archway leading to the duomo, and further weakened by the formation of a staircase in each of the two side walls right and left of this archway, it is evident that the substructure is unfairly loaded, and it is no wonder

that signs of crushing have shown themselves in several places. Dangerous symptoms must have begun to appear very soon after the upper part of the tower was completed in the fifteenth century, for the blank arches of the side walls have had intermediate piers inserted, carrying springers which turn each round arch into two pointed ones. It is on record that in 1472 Alecxi of Durazzo, an architect whose name we shall meet with again at Traü and Arbe, came to Spalato with a colleague, Nicolò Fiorentino[1], to repair this tower, and in 1501, in the time of Doge Leonardo Loredano, the Venetian senate made a grant for its restoration[2].

The scaffolding, which provokingly hid the campanile from view as a whole, partly compensated my disappointment by the opportunity it afforded of examining the details and making measured drawings of the elevation and plans (Plate XX). The tower is not all of one date; Professor Eitelberger distinguishes the two lower stages from the upper part, though I confess I am unable to see that there is so much difference as he observes between the two

[1] Nicolò Fiorentino was engaged at Sebenico on the duomo after the death of Giorgio Orsini, vid. supra, vol. I. chap. ix, p. 401; also at Traü in conjuction with Alecxi, vid. infra, chap. xiii.

[2] Fifty zecchini and a half were given to Girolamo Buffo, count of Spalato, for this purpose, 'quia illud campanile ruinam minari videtur.' Carrara, cited by Eitelberger, p. 266. In the third stage of the tower I observed a scutcheon, affixed, and not part of the structure, bearing the arms of Celsi, which probably refers to this repair of the fabric. The count of Spalato, 1516–1520, was Ser. Francesco Celsi, fu capitano delle Saline in Cipro q. Stefani. Vid. list of Venet. counts of Spalato.

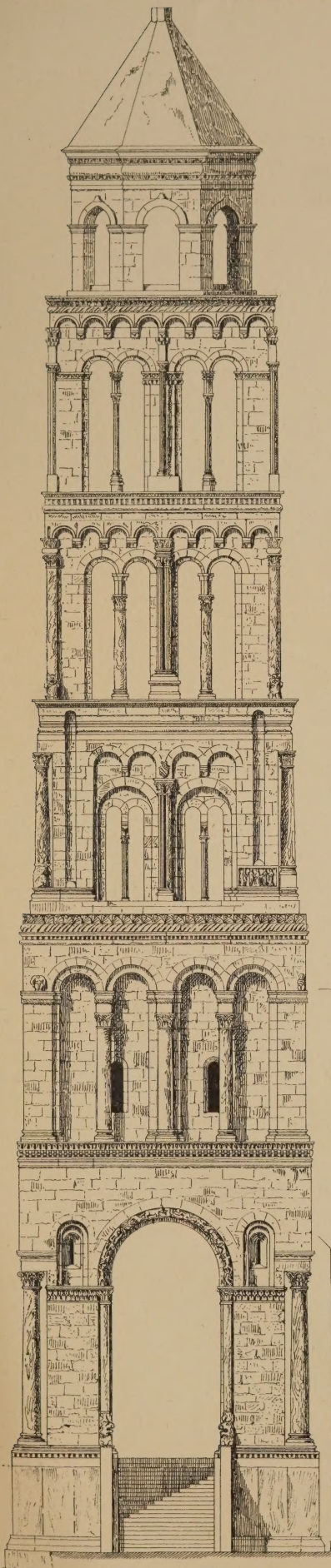
parts in point of executive skill; and the topmost octagonal stage with its spire is of still later workmanship than the rest. The exact date of the building has yet to be ascertained, and meanwhile we have nothing but the evidence of the architectural details and tradition to help us. According to the latter the tower was begun by Maria of Hungary, wife of Charles II of Naples, who married about 1270 and died in 1323. After her death the work is said to have been interrupted, and not to have been resumed till 1360, when Elizabeth the elder was sent by her son Lewis of Hungary to govern Dalmatia[1]; she is supposed to have ordered the continuation of the work, which was carried out by a Spalatine architect Nicolas Tverdoj, and finished in 1416 as we see it, excepting the upper octagon and spire.

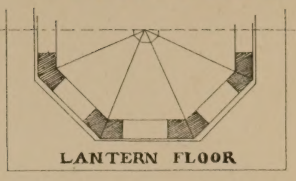
The whole tower, whether early or late, including even the lantern stage, bears the stamp of romanesque work, and has borrowed not a little from the late Roman work of the third century by which it is surrounded. Perhaps in all Dalmatia there is no stronger instance of the firm hold which the earlier styles retained throughout the middle ages, nor of the abiding influence which Diocletian's building exercised on the fancy of Dalmatian architects.

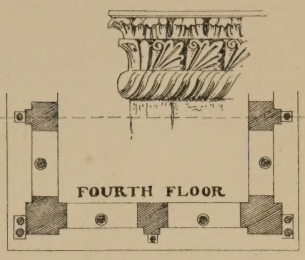
The lowest stage is pierced by an open archway with a barrel vault strengthened by underlying ribs.

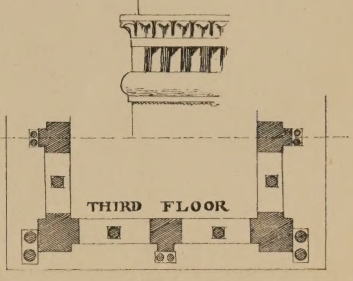
[1] Eitelberger by a slip places both queens a century too late. Elizabeth the elder died in 1380. Vid. Table of Kings of Hungary, above, vol. I. p. 193.

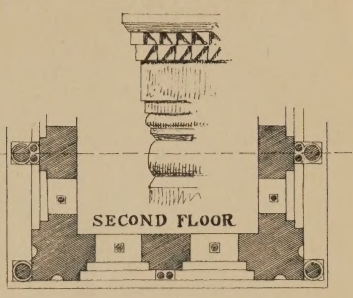
SPALATO. CAMPANILE

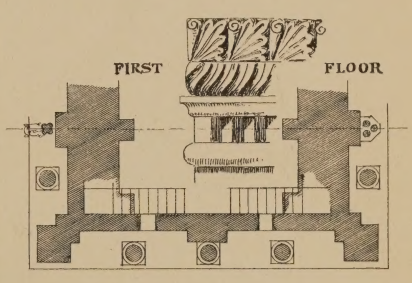


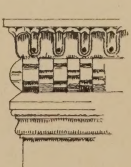


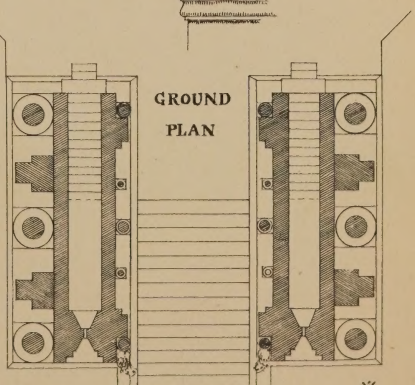












Roman podium

Level at ※

ELEVATION OF WEST SIDE

Level of Piazza

PERISTYLE OF PALACE

English Feet 10 20 30 40 50

Metres 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

T.G.J. 1885.

The arches by which the vault is finished at its east and west ends are enriched with a round moulding set in a square reveal, and apparently quite detached. That to the east is merely cabled ; that to the west is carved in a primitive style with animals and figures on the rounded surface, and the shafts which support it rest on groups of figures which are carried on the quarters of thoroughly Byzantine lions. In the arcading of this story of the tower several antique classic capitals have been used, misfitting their columns. It is in this stage that the intermediate shafts have been added in later times for strength, as I have above noticed: their capitals are of very poor and late Venetian work [1].

Over the two little doorways leading to the ramping staircases which are hollowed out of the piers are two rude sculptures in relief, on one, which is a group of St. Peter and SS. Domnus and Anastasius, the artist has inscribed his name, MAGISTER OTTO HOC OPVS FECIT. Above in better style is a relief of the nativity. Over the other door is a triple arcade with knotted shafts ; in the middle arch is an altar, and in the two extreme arches the Virgin and the angel of the annunciation. These reliefs are of various dates, and may have belonged to various buildings.

The second story is vaulted like the first, and is rich in spoils of older buildings, both classic and post-classic. Antique columns of granite and cipoll-

[1] One of the intermediate piers inserted on the north side bears a shield with a lion rampant.

ino occur in the arcading, part of the cornice is worked on an old stone with Byzantine fret-work on its upper side, and some of the capitals might possibly be antique, while others are carved with rather coarse Venetian foliage. On the north side is a knotted cluster of four attached shafts. The arches are formed with coloured marbles built into the walls as constructive masonry, not merely formed into facing-slabs as in Byzantine and Venetian buildings. A flushed joint shows that the coigns were cramped with iron run with lead, which has in some cases done harm by expansion. Over a small door in the back of this stage I observed the scutcheon of an archbishop, in which, if we could use it, we have the key to solve the mystery of the date of the lower part of the tower. Neither at Venice, nor in Dalmatia, nor in England, nor by the enquiry of my friends at Buda-Pesth, have I succeeded in identifying the bearer of these arms, and I preserve them here (Fig. 33) for some reader who may be more successful[1].

Fig. 33.

The next three stages, which are attributed to the

[1] If the tradition be true that the tower was begun by Maria of Hungary queen of Naples, the coat should be that of Archbishop John Buchad or Buzad, a Hungarian who filled the see from 1266–1294, or that of his successor James, or that of Archbishop Peter, 1297–1324, a Franciscan who was chaplain to queen Maria.

fifteenth century, are full of antique columns and capitals, and rich in porphyry and verd' antico. They have the billet moulding of our eleventh and twelfth century Norman, and Byzantine lions carry their shafts, an office performed in one instance by a sphinx, copied no doubt from the Egyptian sphinx in the piazza. The lights are divided by 'midwall' shafts with spreading impost blocks like those set up 300 years before at Zara or Cologne; magnificent consoles with foliage of an early type project to carry the cornice, and there are cabled friezes and zigzags like those in Diocletian's building.

Even in the octagonal lantern, which is of still later date, the modillions of Diocletian's cornices reappear, and the foliage is raffled in the true Byzantine fashion.

It is interesting to find throughout the tower, even in the highest of the fifteenth century stages, a cornice of that curious leaf ornament, half-fan and half-scroll, which is, so far as I know, peculiar to Dalmatia (vid. Plate XX and Fig. 5, vol. I. p. 271).

In the lowest of these three stories is built up part of an antique sculptured sarcophagus; it bears in the centre a small altar, to the proper right of which are Hercules with the lion's skin, Pallas with her owl, and Jove with his eagle. Behind is a female figure, perhaps Concordia. To the proper left is a damaged female figure holding a sceptre in her left hand; the right hand, which is lost, was probably applying a torch to the altar, and the figure perhaps represents Juno Pronuba. Then comes an armed

figure, Mars no doubt, with a cuirass and greaves on the ground at his feet, and then a female figure with what looks like a mural crown, perhaps Cybele. The altar is inscribed MESC | TERT | FELICI | TER. Adam gives an illustration of it which is very excusably incorrect, for he could only have seen it from a distance.

In the story above this, the fourth from the ground, is a fragment of a Roman inscription of the Emperor Tiberius, built in face upwards as a window sill[1] :—

/////ESAR · DIVI · AVGVSTI · F
/////VSTVS · IMP · PONT · MAX
/////OTEST · XIIX CO II
/////COLONIA SALONITAN·

The treasury of the Duomo, though not comparable to those of Zara and Ragusa, contains some interesting plate and embroideries. The following is a tolerably complete list of its most important contents :—

A '*pianeta*' or chasuble of red cut velvet, the pattern of which is traced in gold thread. The bands are embroidered with figures under canopies

[1] This inscription is copied, though incorrectly, by Wheler, who also gives another which I did not see, though I heard afterwards it still exists, built into the steeple like the first. It is also of the age of Tiberius, and records the opening of a road from Salona to Andetrium or Clissa.

resting on twisted colonnettes. The faces are exquisitely worked, the red silk ground being left for shading, and the lights being worked on in flesh colour. Date, apparently fourteenth century.

Another *pianeta* of later work, also of red velvet, used by the bishop, and two '*tunicelli*' of the sixteenth century, of red velvet beautifully worked in gold, for the use of his assistants.

An *ostensorio* in silver carried by two angels, like the ciborio over the high altar designed by Marc' Antonio de Dominis, who is said to have borrowed the idea from this. It is very pretty, and has panels of enamel, and bears this inscription M·D·XXXII· VICTOR DE ANGELIS FECIT VENETIIS SVMPTIBVS D·CHAT·VX·Q·D·ZARCH·DRAGOEVIC.

A good brooch, *fibola di piviale*, with Gothic traceries and enamels and stones raised on stems.

An ancient cross of brass gilt with crystals on the back, much damaged. In front, a crucifix with a seated figure above it holding a staff. This seems to be of twelfth century work if not even older.

Two *ampollae* inscribed in Lombardics + A·S· ANASTASIVS and V·S·DOMNVS, apparently dating from the end of the fifteenth century[1]. On the lower part is the cypher in Gothic letters **pf** and a scallop shell. Pietro X of the family of Foscari was bishop from 1476–9. This then would be his cypher.

[1] The two patron saints of Spalato. A and V stand for *aqua* and *vinum*.

A half-length figure of a bishop in silver, with a staff in his hand and details similar to those on the ampollae.

Several other silver heads of some antiquity.

A large silver head of S. Doimo or Domnus, standing on the high altar. It seems of rather late work, but I could not examine it closely.

Two silver arm cases ornamented with filigrana set with precious stones. Certainly not later than the fifteenth century.

Eight silver gilt chalices as follows—

A. A chalice 8 inches high, with the initials of Saints Anastasius and Domnus, and the cypher and scallop of archbishop Foscari on the six buttons of the knop. The cypher forms a p one way up and an f the other (Fig. 34). The date then of this chalice is between 1476–1479.

Fig. 34.

B. Another chalice $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, of the same style and date. On the buttons of the knop the letters ave mar.

C. Another $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, of same style. Broken.

D. A chalice 9 inches high. Cup $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at lip, fifteenth century. On the six buttons of the knop a cross, Madonna and Child, Christ between letters MA· and the dedication PRO $\overline{\text{AIA}}$ $\overline{\text{PRIS}}$.

E. A small damaged chalice $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, fifteenth century, with remains of filigrana on the stem.

F. A chalice $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches high; cup a later addition;

lower part is of the fifteenth century; tracery in stem above and below knop.

G. A very fine and large chalice, 10¼ inches high, which I drew. On the knop a coat of arms, azure two bends argent. It has beautifully engraved medallions on the stem, and the four evangelistic emblems on the base, together with the Madonna in a vesica, and an aged saint. The workmanship is superior to that of the other chalices, and nothing in this way can be better than the medallions on the base. Early fifteenth century work.

H. Another like it, equally fine. On the base are S. Anastasius with his millstone round his neck, S. Domnus as bishop, and the four evangelistic emblems, the latter with enamel of red and green in the spandrils interchanged, and blue in the ground.

These chalices have all been damaged by an ignorant silversmith to whom they were sent to be cleaned when the Emperor visited Spalato, who put them in the fire, thereby injuring their enamels and losing several of their silver medallions.

A MS. lectionary on vellum with illuminated letters in colour and burnished gold, apparently of the fourteenth century. The covers are of silver with gilt figures; our Lord seated on a rainbow with the monograms $\overline{\text{I}\cdot\text{C}}$ and $\overline{\text{X}\cdot\text{C}}$, and the evangelistic emblems with their names in Lombardic letters. On the back the Madonna and Child and the angels Michael and Gabriel. The plates seem of the

fourteenth century, but the book has been rebound with a new border in the seventeenth or eighteenth.

A Missal written on vellum, apparently in the fourteenth century, but with some leaves at the end in the character of the thirteenth, to which century I should attribute the very fine silver plates of the covers. On one side is Christ within a vesica between the four evangelistic emblems. On the other a crucifix with Saints Mary and John. The work is very fine and boldly executed, the lines seeming not merely engraved but beaten in with an embossing tool. This has been rebound with a new border like the last named.

THE PERISTYLE COURT of the palace, now the Piazza del Duomo, was at the time of our visit, as I have explained, so encumbered with hoarding and scaffolding that no general view of it was possible. The original design consisted of two parallel open colonnades, through which, right and left, were two enclosed courts each containing a temple. On the bases and plinths are stoppings which show that there was once a balustrade across the intercolumniations, and in Adam's view of the peristyle some of the intercolumniations are shown with marble lattices still remaining in position and reaching half way up the columns[1]. The last bay southwards of the eastern colonnade is occupied by a low wall, a continuation of the side wall of the vestibule steps, on which is placed an Egyptian

[1] Adam, Plate xx.

sphinx of black granite which Sir Gardner Wilkinson says 'is evidently of early Pharaonic time, probably of the eighteenth dynasty[1].' In the Museum is to be seen a second sphinx, now headless, which is of the same age, and which Sir Gardner Wilkinson says is proved by the legend and the style of its sculpture to have been brought from Thebes. The head of the latter sphinx may still be seen built into the wall of a private house and painted in fancy colours, the owner having refused every offer that has been made to induce him to part with it. It is supposed that these two sphinxes were set one on either side of the steps leading up to the temple of Jupiter, and were removed to make way for the campanile.

The colonnades have been built up into private houses with windows doors and balconies between the columns, and among them are two or three chapels which are picturesque enough. The idea of the '*restorers*' is to pull down all these houses and leave the colonnades isolated as they were at first; but the whole structure is so shattered and shaken from its equilibrium that I believe the removal of the support afforded by the houses would involve the rebuilding of the colonnades, which, if left alone, will last for centuries as they are. Moreover, the courts behind them in which the temples stood are completely ruined: only a few fragments of the enclosing walls remain, and their exposure would reduce the interior of the

[1] Sir G. Wilkinson, Dalmatia, vol. i. p. 135–6.

town of Spalato pretty much to the condition of the ruins of Salona. It is much to be desired that the piazza may be left as it is; fascinating as the idea may be to restore the peristyle to its original appearance, it is impossible to do this without rebuilding a great part of the palace, and most persons of sensibility would rather have the genuinely ancient work, mixed up as it is with the accretions of later ages which have in themselves no little historical value, than a renovated copy, however faithful.

The Baptistery.—Crossing the piazza, and passing through the western colonnade, a few steps bring us to the smaller temple, generally thought to have been dedicated to Æsculapius, though Eitelberger and others have seen in it the mausoleum of Diocletian[1]. It is now the baptistery of Spalato, and has been rededicated to S. Giovanni Battista. It is a small rectangular temple (Fig. 35) raised on a lofty podium and originally preceded by a tetrastyle portico which is now gone. The interior measures no more than 16 ft. by 27 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and is covered by a fine waggon vault of stone sunk into coffers. But for the font, the interior of the little shrine has remained unaltered since the time when Diocletian sacrificed within its walls, so completely has it withstood the wear of time and escaped the wanton injury of man. The outside has not been so fortunate; the portico has gone and with it the triangular pediment which

[1] Eitelberger, Dalmatiens, p. 259–284; see above, note to p. 40.

crowned it; but the rest of the building, including the barrel vault, which was always visible externally between the two pediments of the front and back elevations, is perfectly preserved. The effect of

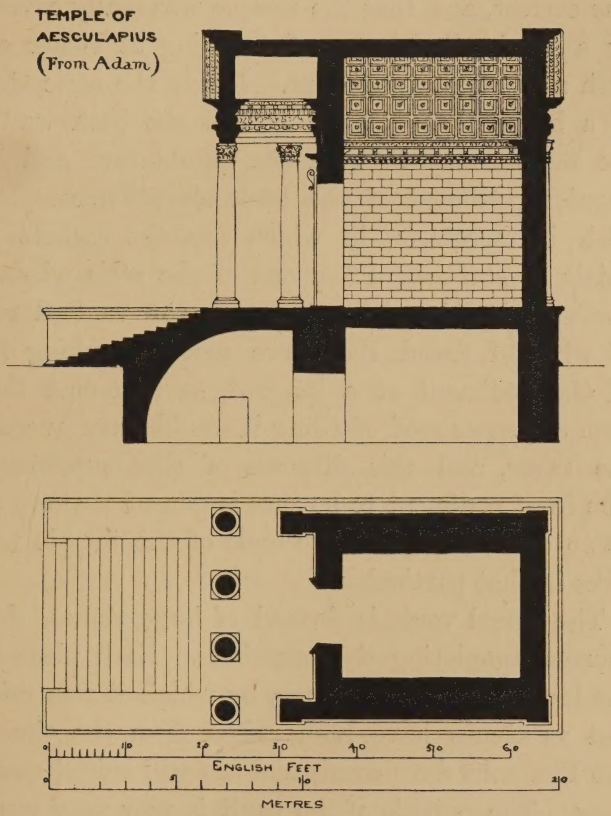


Fig. 35.

this rounded roof between two triangular gable ends would be rather curious and not very good, and the first idea that presents itself is either that the ends must have been rounded like the middle,

or that the central waggon roof must have been covered with a span roof of timber and tiling. But by a careful examination of the construction I satisfied myself that neither of these conjectures was correct, and that the temple was really covered by a semi-cylindrical roof finishing at either end with a triangular pediment. Inside the attic story of a house that is built against the back wall of the temple may be seen the entablature and triangular pediment of the back elevation complete, with its acroteria, in which are the sockets for finials or statues. From one of the attic windows Professor Bulić and I got out on the vaulted roof, of which I found the curve met the raking line of the pediment at a tangent, so that had there been an upper roof of tiling it would have overshot the eaves, and this disposes of that supposition. The front pediment to be sure is gone, but there can be no doubt that the two ends of the temple were alike in that particular.

The barrel vault is formed of huge stones, three courses completing the semicircle. Each piece has the lewis hole in the centre, by which it was raised just as stones have been raised from the time of the Pharaohs downwards and are still raised now-a-days. The outside of the vault is now very rough, but this may be the effect of weather on the local limestone.

This stone-arched roof, visible alike within and without, seems to have fascinated the Dalmatian architects of all ages and to have provoked their

imitation. Stone waggon vaults occur throughout the province, evidently inspired by the coffered ceiling of this Roman shrine; at Zara the architect of King Coloman covered the chapter house of S. Maria with a vault visible externally as well as internally[1]; and at Sebenico the same idea was realized on a magnificent scale by Giorgio Orsini or his successor.

Below the temple is a crypt[2] constructed in the same manner as that below the duomo, and on the ceiling may be seen in both of them the impression made by the planking of the centring on which they were constructed.

The great doorway of the temple is surrounded by scroll-work, with little figures and animals introduced among the ornament: it is perhaps the best piece of this kind of decoration in the palace, and shews a good deal of fancy and pleasurable caprice. The execution is rough, and great use is made of the drill; the finish is hasty and incomplete, and, like the greater part of the decorative work of Diocletian's building, the design shews a certain dangerous facility which easily falls into carelessness. Some of the figures are so rudely chopped out that it is not easy to see what they were meant for, and the work is generally far inferior to that of the great doors carved by Guvina

[1] Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 301.

[2] This crypt appears to have been at one time converted into a church. 'In ecclesia S. Thomae sub ecclesia S. Joannis Baptistae de Spalato.' A. Cutheis, c. iii.

in the thirteenth century which were no doubt inspired by these architraves.

This doorway is 15 ft. 9 in. high and 7 ft. 9 in. wide, and its frame, with true Roman magnificence, is made of only three stones, which are 3 ft. 6½ in. deep, that being the full thickness of the wall. It is remarkable that the head is '*mitred*' to the jambs, and not butt-jointed in the usual way of masonry.

The font in the interior is a cruciform structure of marble, made up of fragments of various kinds inartistically joined together. The stone lid which covers the greater part is no doubt a later addition. Some of the slabs which form the sides are carved with Byzantine knots and interlaced ornament, and one has an imperfect group of figures (Fig. 36) grotesquely, and even ludicrously barbarous, of which the meaning is obscure. In the centre is a seated figure wearing a jewelled crown of Byzantine character and holding aloft a Byzantine cross; a small figure with an absurd nose lies prostrate in an attitude of reverence, and another figure stands by with gestures which seem to say that all is not well within, though that was probably not the intention of the sculptor.

On the platform in front of the temple has stood for centuries one of the best known and most interesting relics of Roman Aspalathus, a magnificent sarcophagus sculptured with the story of Meleager and the hunting of the Calydonian boar, blackened with weather but in admirable preservation after the

lapse of more than sixteen centuries. Here it is shewn in Adam's engraving, and here we saw it in

Fig. 36.

1882 and 1884; but alas! in 1885 it was gone, and we afterwards came upon it in the dull limbo of the museum, serving as a support to other fragments of

antiquity. In its new place few will ever see it, and no one will ever enjoy it as every Spalatine high or low would have done for generations to come had it been left in its old place to moulder slowly away in the course of perhaps sixteen centuries more.

Some interesting sarcophagi which used to stand in the intercolumniations of the colonnade that surrounds the duomo have been stored in the baptistery during the restoration of the other building. The most important is that of Archbishop John of Ravenna, 650–680, the prelate in whom the bishopric was revived after the fall of Salona. The front of the sarcophagus has four panels simply carved, above which runs this inscription (Fig. 37). The

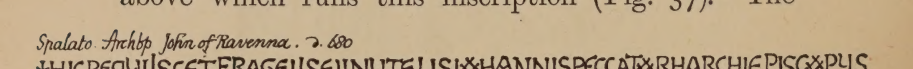


Fig. 37.

form of the letter O is curious, and may be compared with that in other inscriptions at Cattaro (chap. xxiii. Fig. 76), and Grado[1] (chap. xxxvi).

On another sarcophagus is the following inscription (Fig. 38) commemorating Archbishop Lorenzo,

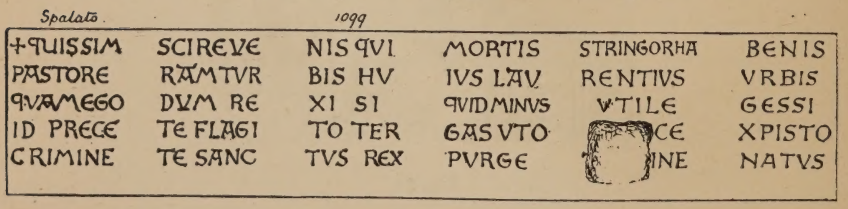

Spalato 1099
+QVISSIM SCIREVE NISQVI MORTIS STRINGORHA BENIS
PASTORE RAMTVR BIS HV IVS LAV RENTIVS VRBIS
QVAMEGO DVM RE XI SI QVIDMINVS VTILE GESSI
ID PRECE TE FLAGI TO TER GAS VTO CE XPISTO
CRIMINE TE SANC TVS REX PVRGE INE NATVS

Fig. 38.

[1] Lucio, de Regn. p. 474, taking these O's for stops has curiously misunderstood this inscription, and wonders who the archbishop could have been with the initial R.

1059–1099, of whom I have had occasion to speak above[1].

A third sarcophagus measuring only 3ft. 8½in. × 1ft. 8in. and in height 1ft. 2½in., possesses unusual interest as commemorating the untimely end of the youthful princesses Catharine and Margaret, daughters of Bela IV, who died at Clissa during the horrors of the Tartar invasion in 1242. The inscription in Lombardics (Fig. 39) on the side of the sarcophagus reads thus:—

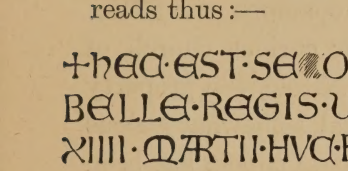


Fig. 39.

Thomas the archdeacon[2] says they were buried in the cathedral, and the smallness of this sarcophagus, which used to stand over the entrance on the cornice of the door frame, precludes the idea of its having been more than a cenotaph. It seems to have been hitherto concealed by a tablet bearing another inscription which Lucio has copied:

Catharina inclyta & fulgens Margari*ta*
In hoc arcto tumulo jacent absque vi/
Belle IIII filie Regis Hungaro *rum*
Et Marie Lascari Regine Graeco/
Ab impiis Tartaris fuerunt fuga . . . *te*[3].
Mortue in Clissio huc Spaletum transla/

[1] Vid. History, vol. i. chap. i. p. 77; also History of Spalato above, vol. ii. p. 4.

[2] 'Mortuae (apud Clissam) autem sunt duae ipsius puellae virgines et in ecclesia B. Domnii honorifice tumulatae.' Thom. Archid. chap. xl.

[3] Lucio, de Regn. p. 473.

This is probably by the same rhymer as a similar inscription at Traü to prince William, the betrothed of Margaret. (Vid. infra, chap. xiii. p. 135.)

In Spalato and the neighbourhood are some interesting examples of early Dalmatian churches dating from the dark period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. Eitelberger gives illustrations of one in the military hospital which I did not see. It has a nave and aisles and central dome of an ovoid form like those at Nona. In the suburb of Spalato, towards M. Marglian, is another curious church of the same kind dedicated to S. Nicolò, the property of a confraternity who are, as usual, somewhat jealous of their rights over it. The central cupola has been defaced outside by the mistaken zeal of the confraters who have smartened it up into a central tower and destroyed its historical value, but the interior with the bulging misshapen columns and barbarous capitals that support the cupola is very curious and interesting.

A short distance beyond the town, towards the Paludi, buried in vineyards, and not easily found without a guide, is the curious ruined church of SS. Trinità, which I believe has not been illustrated before (Fig. 40). It consists of a circular central space surmounted by a dome of which only the springing now remains, and surrounded by six apses which open to the central space by round arches. It is additionally interesting from its correspondence, both in plan and in dimensions, with two churches at Zara, the baptistery and S. Orsola (vid. Figs. 1 and 4),

and as I have already observed the three have almost to an inch the same diameter of twenty feet across the dome[1]. The church at Spalato has two doors in adjacent apses, the lesser door bears a cross on its

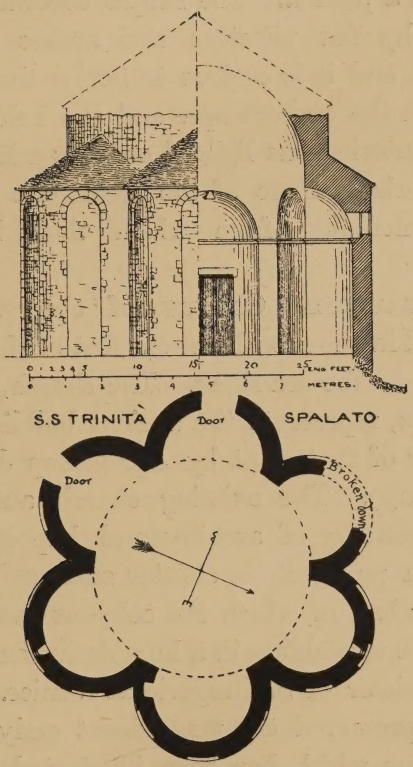


Fig. 40.

lintel, and the head of the larger is formed of a fragment of a Roman architrave with the bead and reel. Other pieces of classic architecture are built in here and there, and from the centre of the east and west

[1] Vid. supra, Zara, vol. i. p. 287.

domes hangs a small pendent like an inverted cup of a kind which occurs in S. Donato at Zara and other buildings of the period. The eastern apse contains a small recess which may have been an ambry or a piscina. The simple decoration of the exterior by flat pilasters and arches should be remarked, and it is curious to notice that they are omitted in the western apse and the half apse next it. The interior was lighted only by a little slit in two or perhaps three of the apses, just above the cavetto moulding from which their half-domes spring.

The Franciscan Convent of 'observant' friars is situated in the suburbs at the foot of M. Margliano and close to the sea-shore. The church, dedicated to S. Felix, represents the ancient building erected in honour of that saint by Archbishop John[1], who died in 1059. The existing church and convent contain nothing of architectural importance, but there is a pretty little cloister surrounding a gay flower garden, of which the columns carry wooden architraves resembling in a humble fashion the well-known cloister of S. Gregorio at Venice. Here is carefully preserved the magnificent early Christian sarcophagus which has been illustrated by Adam, and more lately by Eitelberger, representing the destruction of Pharaoh and the Egytians in the Red Sea[2]. The passage of the Red Sea occupies the

[1] Vid. Thom. Archid. c. xv, also Lucio's annotation to him, p. 471.

[2] Vid. Adam, Plate lvii. Eitelberger remarks the rarity of subjects from the Old Testament on early Christian sarcophagi, p. 292.

whole front, the ends are very simply ornamented, and the back has three small figures divided by the waved fluting so common on sarcophagi. Eitelberger attributes it to the fifth or sixth century of the Christian period, but ranks it as a work of art among the best of its kind in existence, and higher than many of the later pagan sarcophagi.

Hard by stands the sepulchral slab of one whose name we have often had occasion to mention, Thomas, the archdeacon and historian of the church of Salona. Born in 1200, we find him about 1216 a student at Bologna, where he heard St. Francis preach in the square before the public palace. He says almost the whole city came to hear this missionary, 'sordid in his dress, contemptible in person, unlovely in face,' at whose persuasive words enemies were reconciled, and family feuds healed, and about whom men and women thronged if perchance they might touch the hem of his garment[1]. Returning to Spalato Thomas was made canon, and in 1230 archdeacon. His reforming zeal led him into a quarrel with Guncellus the Hungarian archbishop, whose laxity he sternly reproved, and whose shortcomings in discipline he tried to remedy. This enraged the canons, and making common cause with the archbishop they did their utmost to degrade the indiscreet and overzealous archdeacon and reduce him to impotence. The city was divided into factions, quarrels broke out even within the church walls, and the public peace was endangered. In

[1] Thom. Archid. chap. xxvii.

this emergency Thomas went to lay his case before the Pope, followed a week later by the archbishop Guncellus with his principal adherents and a crowd of canons ready 'to swallow him up[1].' They found Gregory IX at Perugia, and Thomas relates with manifest gusto the discomfiture of his enemies, and his own triumph in the papal court.

Of his influence in securing the election of an Italian podestà in 1240 an account has already been given[2]. In the next year came the Tartar invasion, of which Thomas was an eye-witness, and of which he has left us a vivid description.

In the same year as it would appear his old enemy Guncellus died, and the chapter, in the presence of the podestà, elected Thomas as his successor. Thomas then touched the zenith of his fortunes, but it was only for a moment. The nobles of Spalato asserted their right to a share in the election, a tumult was raised, and Thomas, taken by surprise, hesitated, deferred his answer to the proposal that had been made him, and finally, though denying the right of the laity to interfere, resigned[3].

Though like a true churchman Thomas fought hard to exclude the laity from their prescriptive right to participate in the election of the clergy, we

[1] 'Nil aliud nisi Archidiaconum toto ore glutire parantes.'

[2] Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 63 and vol. ii. p. 6.

[3] He consoles himself by seeing the hand of an avenging Providence in the defeat which the Spalatines directly after suffered at the hands of the Traürines. 'Verum quam grave sit statum matris Ecclesiae invisis factionibus conculcare poena evidenter docuit e vestigio subsecuta,' ch. xlv.

find him on another occasion like a true patriot pleading the immunities and privileges of the city against the King of Hungary himself[1]. Zealous, active and resolute, and probably superior to his companions in literary attainments, Thomas was a Dalmatian Giraldus, always in hot water with some one, a strenuous champion of the church against the laity, and of his own office against other churchmen, recalling his Cambrian prototype also by his journeys to Rome, and by the envious fortune that placed an archbishopric within his grasp only to snatch it away again.

He died in 1268, having brought his history down to within two years of that date.

The Franciscan Convent of 'i Paludi.' A short walk along a good road behind the town of Spalato brought us to the crest of some rising ground whence a lovely view of the inland sea of Salona broke upon us. The water was of an intense blue, flecked with silver wavelets, the shores were richly clothed with vegetation and dotted with white villages sparkling in the sunshine, while behind in stern contrast towered the bare craggy summits of the Cabani mountains. This basin, the '*Riviera dei Castelli*,' the 'Tempe of Dalmatia[2],' is famous for the mildness of its climate and the fertility of its soil, and with the exception of Castelnuovo in the Bocche di Cattaro, which is similarly favoured by natural situation, it impressed us as offering the only land-

[1] Vid. supra, p. 8.

[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, i. 172.

scape in Dalmatia which was really soft, well-wooded, fertile, and highly cultivated.

On the lower slopes of the mountain facing us, where olives and vineyards alternated with huge piles of white stones, partly perhaps ruins, but mostly heaps gathered off the fields, once stood Salona, one of the fairest provincial towns of the Roman Empire, and according to Porphyrogenitus 'half as large as Constantinople[1].' Below us to the left, reaching to the water's edge, stretched a low flat marshy plain known as i Paludi, and on the very brink of the sea stood the grey buildings of the Franciscan convent we were seeking.

Over the entrance is a machicolated tower, for defence against the Turks, which reminded us that here we stood on the ancient debateable ground between Christian and Moslem, neither of whom was ever secure against a sudden raid from the other even when the central governments were not at open war. Through this we entered the convent court, where we were hospitably received by the Superior who shewed us all his treasures.

The buildings are not remarkable, but the church contains several pictures of considerable interest. There are two great works of Girolamo di Santa Croce. That at the east end is very fine; these are the subjects:

[1] Σαλῶνα μέγεθος ἔχον τὸ ἥμισυ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Const. Porph. de adm. Imp. c. xxix.

Sta. Caterina.	Sta. Elena.	Madonna & Child surrounded by Angel Boys.	Sta. Agnese, sister of Sta. Chiara.	Sta. Maria Maddalena.
S. Giovanni Battista.	S. Doimo.	S. Francesco with SS. Bernardino & Antonio.	S. Ludovico.	S. Girolamo.

The Virgin and Child are very well painted, with charming little boy angels on the wing. The picture is on panel and signed

HIERONYMVS
DE SANTA CROCE
M·D·XLVIIII

The whole has however been a good deal touched up lately at Vienna. In a side chapel is an interesting work on canvas by the same painter not yet retouched, representing the Madonna and Child with St. Peter and S. Chiara.

There are some exceedingly fine sepulchral slabs in the floor with figures in relief, dating from the early part of the sixteenth century, among which the best are one to a lady who died in childbed, and another to Thomas Nigro, bishop of Scardona and Traü in the time of Leo X.

Over a side altar is a bad copy made in 1727 from an older picture, which represents the most eminent writers who have employed their pen in praise of the Virgin Mary. Among them, strange to say, is Mahomet, who holds a scroll with the words 'Nullus

est ex Adam quem non tenuerit Satan preter Mariam et filium ejus. Mahometo,

1–11. Libro V.

Corani.'

This picture has protected the convent from outrage by the neighbouring Moslems, who learned to visit the church not for purposes of rapine but to do reverence to the figure of their prophet, or, what is more likely, to enjoy the reverence paid him by Christians. The Superior told us that to this day Moslems passing by often come in to look at it.

From the church we passed into the cloister, from which there is a door into the library. There we were shewn some MS. choir books on vellum in black letter, with illuminated borders and initials painted by Frater Bonaventura de Spalato A. D. 1665. The gold is very inferior in metallic solidity and lustre to that of the older illuminations, and there is very little of it employed, yellow paint shaded with red being generally used where the older men would have used gold. Fra Bonaventura did not attempt figure subjects, but used engravings, which he mounted on the vellum and coloured by hand; but he has shewn infinite fancy and ingenuity in the geometrical interlacing borders with which he has surrounded them, covering sometimes the vast surface of a large folio page with this kind of decoration. It is very brilliantly coloured and finely shaded, but shews more industry than genius. Another book by the same hand is dated 1670,

and the ornamentation is chiefly drawn from natural flowers.

The friars told us that not only were the subjects taken from the flora of Dalmatia, but that the colours themselves were extracted from the native plants of the country.

The narrow streets of Spalato abound in charming fragments of Venetian architecture. Some of the palaces of the old nobility have really fine windows, and many a courtyard of which a glimpse is caught in passing is rich with graceful arcades and staircases. Fig. 41 shews a simple but well-imagined example of the latter in a house just behind the ruined apse of the chamber which Adam marks as Diocletian's bath-room. Not far from this spot, in the Piazza del Mercato, is the tower that goes by the name of the shifty Hervoye, duke of Spalato, whom Lucio compares to the treacherous Demetrius of Pharos, and who after serving and betraying Hungarian, Bosnian, and Neapolitan, was discovered to be intriguing with the Turks, and dismissed to die in disgrace at Cattaro. The tower formed a part of the mediæval fortifications of the *new* town. Later still the whole city was enclosed by the Venetians within fortifications of a more modern kind, but these in their turn are now being removed as useless against modern artillery, and a hindrance to that expansion of the town which its modern prosperity demands. For Spalato strikes the visitor as the busiest and most thriving place in Dalmatia: its streets and squares are lighted by gas, while those

of Zara and the other cities are still dependent on oil lanterns; and outside the town a new quarter of

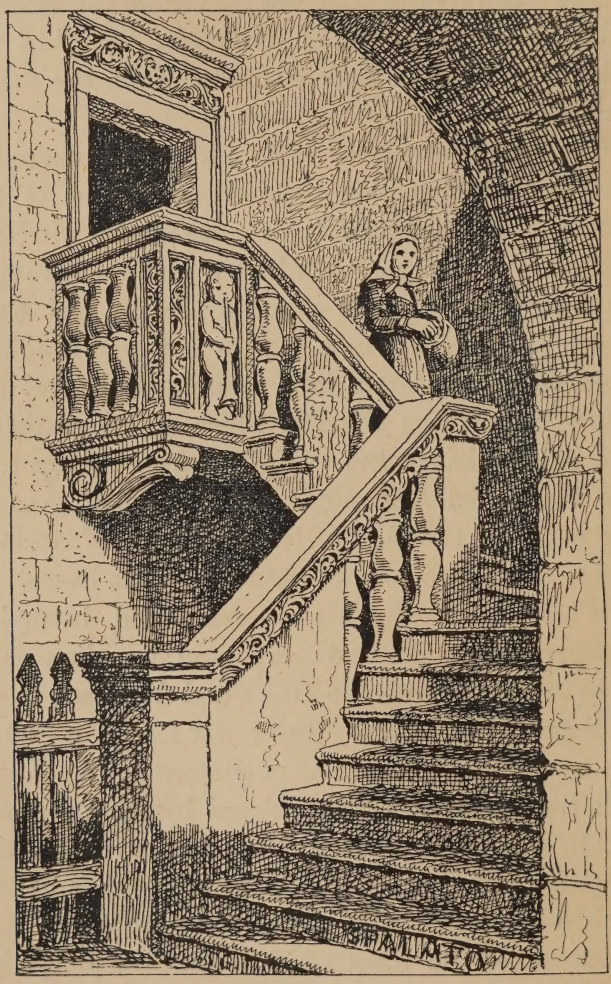


Fig. 41.

large modern buildings has sprung up, among which is a capital inn, where the visitor will fare as well as

at Trieste or Fiume[1]. These modern improvements are due to the energy and public spirit of Dr. Bajamonte, the late podestà, who however with the whole municipality was ejected from office by the Austrian government to make way for a new corporation of strictly Croatian sympathisers, which after an interregnum of two years was elected under the guns of a man-of-war stationed in the harbour, and which one may therefore assume to have been forced upon an unwilling people. Spalato has hitherto been no less strongly attached to the Latin or autonomous party than Zara herself, but nothing is now being left undone to give it the character of a Slavonic town, and to put an end to the Latin traditions of twelve centuries, during which the Croat has borne no rule within its walls.

Spalato is an excellent centre for excursions—better perhaps than any other place on the coast. Traü Salona Clissa and Almissa are within a drive and not beyond the powers of a good walker, and the heights of Mossor with the fastnesses of the ancient republic of Poglizza are close at hand. It is the best starting-place for an excursion into the interior, and it actually possesses a small railway,

[1] He must not, however, expect to live so cheaply at Spalato as Wheler did in 1675 . . 'the great plenty the place affords of everything that is good made us eat and drink as well as the cookery of a German soldier's wife (the only one we could find in the town to do us that favour) could make us; and that at very reasonable rates. For they pay not for Partridges above a groat or five-pence apiece; for a Hare not much more, and Butcher's meat not above a peny a pound.'

which, though detached from any other line, forms a useful link between Spalato and Sebenico and the interior of the province. The Croatian or national party boasts that the day is not far distant when Spalato will be the capital of Dalmatia, and Zara with her Latin and unsympathizing people will be left out in the cold to dwindle and decay.

CHAPTER XII.

Salona[1].

The ancient Roman capital of Dalmatia was beautifully situated on the lower slopes of the Cabani mountains and along the shores of the sea lake which is fenced from the open Adriatic by the long mountainous island of Bua. There is little enough now remaining above ground to tell one that so large a city once lay spread out on the hill side, and though on a near approach a few remains of walls are visible, they are lost in the distant view among the mounds of stones which the husbandmen have piled up between the fields and vineyards. Exaggerated accounts have been given of the size of the ancient city. Porphyrogenitus says it was half as large as Constantinople, which is incredible[2]; and the six miles in length for which Thomas Archidiaconus vouches dwindle on measurement to no more than seven-eighths of a mile within the walls, beyond which there may of course have been extensive

[1] Or Salonae; the name occurs spelt either way. Salona seems the more common, and as being the modern form is the more convenient for modern use.

[2] Const. Porphyr. de adm. Imp. xxix; vid. supra, p. 78, note.

suburbs[1]. The form of the city was long and narrow, and its appearance as it stretched along the sea shore is alluded to by Lucan in the lines which every writer from Thomas the archdeacon downwards thinks it necessary to quote when describing Salona:

> Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas
> Et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit Iader[2].

From Spalato the road rises to the crest of a low ridge and then descends into the valley of the Riviera dei Castelli, which extends from Salona to Traü. To the right may be seen striding across the valley the aqueduct built by Diocletian to serve his palace with water, which after a period of ruin and neglect has now been repaired, and supplies the town of Spalato from the sources of the Giadro or Iader. About three miles from Spalato the road crosses a stone bridge[3], which spans a rapid stream running between brilliantly green meadows, a strange sight in Dalmatia; this is the ancient Iader, the modern Giadro, whose water, says the imperial topographer, is 'sweet above all waters, as they say who have tasted it[4].' Beyond this lies the modern village of Salona, a collection of scattered houses of which

[1] 'Dicta autem est Salona a Salo, hoc est a mari, quia in littore maris sita est, longa vero idcirco dicta est quia modicum lata sed in longum fere sex milliaribus versus occidentalem plagam protendebatur.' Thom. Archid. c. ii.

[2] Lucan, Pharsalia, lib. iv. 404.

[3] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 151, says one arch of this bridge is Roman.

[4] Ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ὕδωρ πότιμον καὶ γλυκύτατον ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ὕδατα ὡς φασὶν οἱ γευσάμενοι. Const. Porphyr. de Thematibus, l. ii. p. 58, ed. Bonn.

every one has its walls full of fragments of Roman sculpture and inscriptions: and here we unconsciously enter the precincts of one of the proudest provincial cities of the Roman world.

The circuit of the ancient walls has been made out with tolerable distinctness, and a rough plan has been published by Professor Bulić, from which I have taken my Fig. 42. The city was divided into two

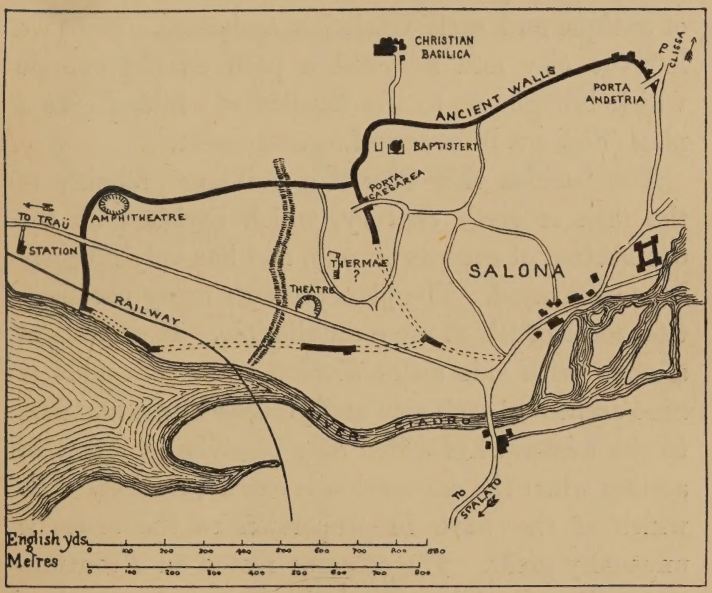
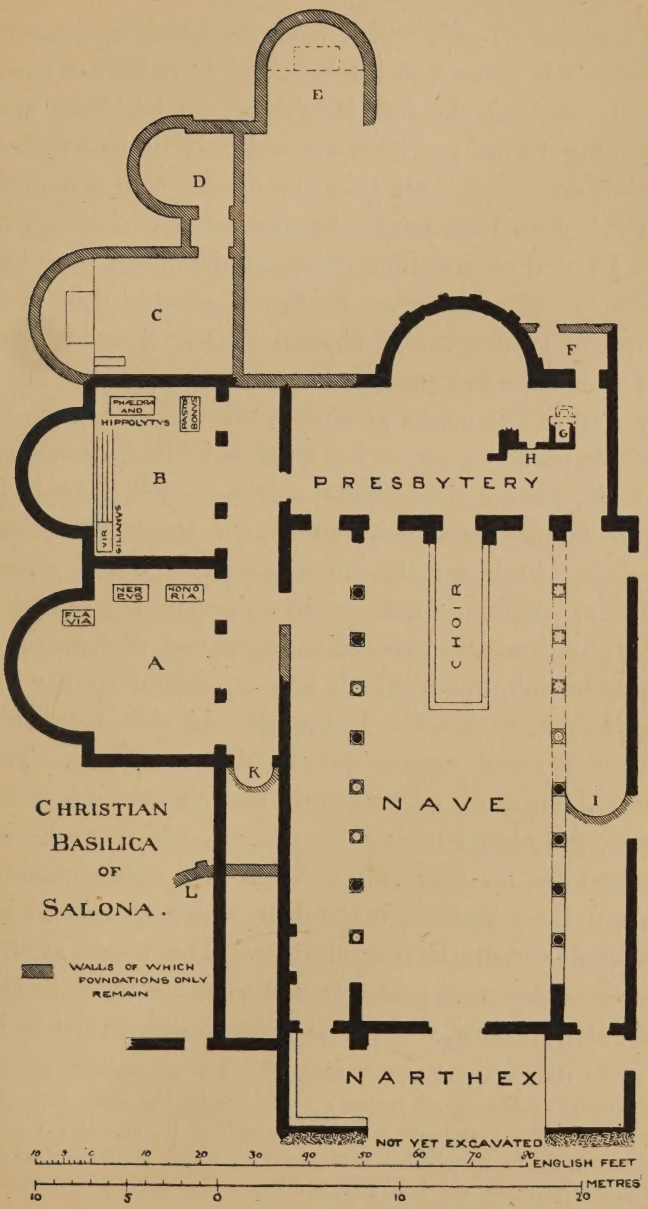


Fig. 42.

parts by a wall with an important gateway, marked by Professor Bulić as the Porta Caesarea, of which the outside is towards the east as if the western half of the city were the older of the two. The eastern half is the part by which the visitor will enter

Salona, near the ruins of the castle built in 1347 by Ugolino Malabranca, archbishop of Spalato, to keep in check the Servian garrison of Clissa; and the Roman walls in this part are so broken down near the road that he will not easily know when he is within them. From the old Porta Andetria, or Clissa gate, the pathway follows the inside of the northern wall for some distance, till a spot is reached where a trophy has been erected of various fragments of antique and early Christian sculpture. Here we left the city and followed a path on the outside which brought us to the basilica of which I give a plan (Fig. 43) from actual measurement.

The basilica is a Christian building probably of the fifth or sixth century, which perished at the destruction of the city in 639, and has only recently been excavated. The plan presents many peculiarities, some of which are unintelligible. It consists of a nave with side aisles divided by a colonnade of nine arches on each side and preceded by a narthex, to the westward of which may possibly be found an atrium when the excavation is carried further. The width of the nave in proportion to the aisles is unusually great. The columns rested on a continuous wall or stylobate, and the bases of several of them are still in position. At the east end of the nave is the choir, enclosed once by a dwarf wall or screen of which the foundations remain. The width inside its walls is only eight feet six inches, which is strangely narrow. Beyond this the basilica was cut in two by a wall in the position of the iconostasis


E
D
C
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PHAEDRA AND HIPPOLYTVS
FASTI ROMANI
G
H
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PRESBYTERY
VIR SILIANVS
NER EVS
HONO RIA
FLA VIA
A
CHOIR
K
NAVE
I
CHRISTIAN BASILICA OF SALONA.
L
WALLS OF WHICH FOVNDATIONS ONLY REMAIN
NARTHEX
NOT YET EXCAVATED
ENGLISH FEET
METRES

Fig. 43.

of a Greek church, which from its massive construction—it is three feet thick—must have been a main wall reaching the full height of the building, and forming a solid partition pierced only by five rather small doorways. Of this arrangement in a church of this date I am unable to offer an explanation, nor do I know of a similar example elsewhere to guide one to its meaning[1]. Eastward of this wall is a kind of transept, and beyond that an eastern apse of which the flat exterior buttresses may either have run up to the eaves as simple piers like those in S. Vitale at Ravenna, or have carried blank arches as at SS. Trinità near Spalato (vid. p. 73). At F is an entrance, outside which are the traces of a small porch. At H are the ruins of a considerable structure of which it is not easy to conjecture the purpose. At G is a small square chamber paved with a white marble slab, under which is a sepulchral vault with an entrance below the floor on the east side, accessible from a small square pit lined with stone. The actual entrance of the vault was closed by a stone sliding hatch running in grooves, which could be raised by an iron ring. At H is a small window about three feet above the floor, which was closed by a similar stone sliding shutter. The whole of this curious structure probably had some reference to the sepulchre below, which may have contained the body

[1] In the Coptic church of Anba Bishôi is a somewhat similar wall cutting the church in two; but it divides the choir from the nave, whereas here there is a choir outside of it; and it has only three doors in it, whereas this has five. Vid. Butler's Ancient Coptic Churches, vol. i. p. 311, and Fig. 21.

of a Christian saint or martyr. Northward of the church is the singular feature of an additional aisle running the whole length of the building; and two apsidal chapels A and B opened out of it by triple arches of which traces may be seen in the walls now built across them. The walls of all the foregoing parts of the basilica are still several feet high above the floor; those of the rest are less perfect. The strange series of apsidal chapels is continued at C and D and E, but the walls are so broken down that the position of their doorways cannot be traced. These appended chapels and their connecting aisle are extremely curious, and I am not aware of anything resembling them elsewhere. At I K L are the foundations of other apses which must have belonged to buildings older than the present basilica.

The excavation has been carried below the original floor level of the church, and has disclosed a most extraordinary state of things. It would seem that the whole area on which the church was built had been from early Christian times a burying place, and was as full of sarcophagi as the aliscamps of Arles or the cemetery at Pola which supplied Dante with an image for the burning coffers of the heresiarchs. These were not removed to make way for the church, but they were covered with earth and the site was levelled over, and the new walls were simply built above them without any other preparation. Now that the floor has been dug out the tombs are again exposed, and there they lie embedded in mud at the bottom of the excavation, thrown about in strange

disorder, with broken lids or no lids at all, and full of water from the last rainfall. At least fifty sarcophagi have been exposed by digging within the church below the level of the pavement, and at least a hundred more stand thickly on the ground outside the church, all of them damaged and rifled of their contents, many of them overthrown, or with their lids lying upside down beside them. There are several sepulchral chambers like that described within the church at G, with a little shallow well or pit in front of the entrance, lined with slabs which are joined with lead dowels. In at least one case the sliding hatch is perfect with the iron ring for raising it. One tomb which I entered was a chamber six feet eleven inches by four feet five inches, and five feet six inches high to the top of its round arch. The floor was of marble slabs, now broken, and the walls retained their painted decoration. The entrance of this instead of the usual lifting hatch had a stone door which worked on pivots wrought in the solid of the stone and fitting into holes in the sill and lintel. It opened inwards and is now broken.

Under the foundation of the choir wall is an inscription of the year 431[1]; in the apse is the sarcophagus of a chorepiscopus, a title and office said to be not older than 450; and under the mysterious three feet wall that cuts the church in two are broken lengths of ancient columns laid on their sides across the bottom of the wall to form a foundation

[1] To Victorius Advocatus, in the consulship of Bacchus and Antiochus.

for it. All this, together with the foundations at I K L, shews that the present basilica is not the oldest church on or near the same site, and that it was built not much if at all before the date of Justinian ; and this is confirmed by the style of the capitals which have been dug up in the basilica, and which are either of debased Roman work and used secondhand, or, when original, of Byzantine character. Some of the outlying chapels may be older, and as sarcophagi stand over the foundations of the chapel E that building was probably ruined before the great basilica was erected.

Close by the great west entrance door of the nave lies the original lintel, which bears this inscription :

DEVS NOSTER ⌀ PROPITIVS ESTO
REI ⌀ PUBLICAE ⌀ ROMANAE

In the pavement of the narthex was found in Feb. 1885 a mosaic inscription, which has been removed to the Ginnasio at Spalato. Professor Bulić has published it with suggestions for completing the lacunae as follows[1] :—

*In lucem po*STQVAM *te fudit celsa v*OLVNTAS
*Annos et vir*IDES POSTQVAM DOCTRINA REPLEVIT
*Heu lacrimat*VS ABIS TVNC GAVDIA LARGA PARENTVM
Spes laetas MESTO TECVM SVB PVLVERE CONDIS
Omnipotensque DEVS QVI TE FORMAVIT ET AVFERT
*Clemens accipi*AT SERVETQVE AD GAVDIA MEMBRVM

[1] Bulletino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata. Ann. viii. 1885, p. 49.

In the various chapels were discovered several sarcophagi of great interest, and some of high artistic importance, of which the best have been removed to the museum at Spalato.

In the chapel A is the large sarcophagus of the seventh century of one Nereus. Close by in the same chapel stands a large rudely carved sarcophagus with a double epitaph to Constantius and his wife Honoria. The latter is in hexameters, and from the allusions it contains it has been said that Honoria herself was a Christian martyr. If however the date is correctly ascertained to be 374, it is not easy to see how at that period an opportunity of martyrdom could have presented itself, nor does the inscription itself require that explanation[1].

DEPOSITVS CONSTANT IVS · V · C · EX PROCONSVL E AFRICAE DIE PRID NO N IVL POST CONS · DN · GRA TIANI AVG · III ET E QVITI · V · C ·	CONSTANTI CONIVX PARVORVM MATER HONORIA DVLCIBVS EXIMIE CARISSIMA SEMPER ET VNA CONPLES TER DENOS QVAE VITAM VIXERIT ANNOS MARTYRIBVS ADSCITA CLVET CVI PARVVLA CON TRA RAPTA PRIVS PRAESTAT TVMV LI CONSORTIA DVLCIS DEPOSITA VII KAL APRILES

In the chapel B were found the two magnificent sarcophagi, now in the museum at Spalato, representing respectively the legend of Phaedra and Hippolytus and the Pastor bonus. The occurrence

[1] The inscriptions are published in the Bulletino di Archeologia Dalmata, vol. 7.

of a pagan subject on a sarcophagus in a Christian church is curious, but sarcophagi originally used for pagans were often appropriated by Christians.

Of all the sarcophagi of Spalato or Salona that with the Meleager is undoubtedly the finest, and is indeed in the best style of Roman art; next to it in point of merit comes that in the Franciscan church with the crossing of the Red sea; the Phaedra and Hippolytus is in a ruder style, and as inferior to the Pharaoh as the Pharaoh to the Meleager; lowest of all must be placed the Pastor bonus, in which the classic touch has nearly disappeared, though the figures are still based on classic models, and have not yet stiffened into Byzantine conventionalism. I should imagine its date to be in the fifth century.

In the remains of this great basilica of Salona, so far as they go, we have an example of an early Christian church untouched since the first part of the seventh century, and its importance to the archæologist may be well understood. It is, like all the basilicas of Ravenna Parenzo and Grado, built of rude masonry, intended perhaps to be plastered outside, and depending for beauty within on decoration by marble and mosaic. Whether it was the principal church and the cathedral of Salona cannot at present be said. If its appendages are excluded the basilica proper will not compare in point of scale with the duomo of Grado, nor except in the width of the nave with that of Parenzo, both of which places in the time of Justinian were inferior in importance to Salona. The massive party wall moreover which

cuts this basilica in two seems more appropriate to a monastic than a metropolitan church, and I should be disposed to look for the real cathedral of Salona within the walls, and close to the baptistery which has been already unearthed.

Outside the basilica on the north side is a well-preserved ancient wine-press of stone, channelled, and with a duct leading to a carved cistern, also of stone, lower down on the slope of the hill. Its close proximity to the church suggests the idea that it may have been used for the preparation of sacramental wine[1]; but I am not aware that the Latin church ever made any special arrangement for this.

The baptistery is situated within the walls of the eastern part of the city, and on much lower ground than the basilica we have already visited. The walls are still several feet high, and the bases of the pillars are still in position, so that the plan is very clear. It was a circular chamber, with seven columns standing in a ring within it so as to form an aisle round a central space which was no doubt domed. In the middle is the ancient piscina or font for baptism by immersion, sunk in the floor and lined with marble in descending steps, like that of which the ruins remain in the baptistery of the duomo of Parenzo. To the south was the principal entrance, which was preceded by a kind of portico with two ranks of

[1] Mr. Butler describes a wine-press in one of the Coptic churches at Cairo, with which the Eucharistic wine was made for distribution among the churches of that city. Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, A. J. Butler, vol. i. pp. 115–277, vol. ii. p. 282.

columns. To the west, where was another entrance, is a raised area, whether originally within doors or in the open air cannot now be told, which is floored with mosaic. Of this pavement we could see nothing, as it is covered over with earth to protect it from the mischievous curiosity of visitors and collectors who have destroyed piecemeal one part in which two stags were represented with the text 'as the hart pants,' &c.[1]

The masonry of the baptistery like that of the basilica is very rude, and it is coursed with Roman brick. A capital belonging to it is to be seen in the Museum at Spalato, which has animals at the angles in the place of volutes, and of which the body is formed with a kind of basket work of vine leaves cut away from the bell and pierced behind. It has all the character of Byzantine sculpture of the sixth century.

Travelling still westward we came to the diaphragm wall which cuts the city in two, and is pierced by the ancient gate marked on Professor Bulić's plan as Porta Caesarea. This was an imposing structure, flanked by an octagonal tower on each hand, and with a large central archway for carriages between two narrow ones for foot passengers. The arches are now gone, but the jambs remain, and the pavement with ruts six inches deep marking the wheel tracks. The *outside* of this gateway, as I have before observed, was

[1] I am told a drawing of this mosaic pavement is published by Lanza, Degli Scavi di Salona nel 1848, Tavola ii. No. 4.

turned towards the eastern part of the city which we had already traversed, as if the western part were the older. From this to the Porta Andetria, near which we had entered the town, the main street would have run, and along that line the excavations should be made in future.

Passing through the Porta Caesarea into the inner part of the city we found the wall running westwards close to our right hand. Just outside

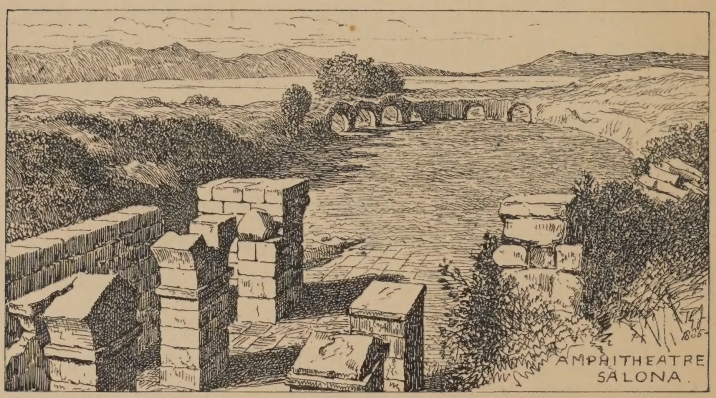


Fig. 44.

it, a little way further on, a trench has been opened in the soil exposing fourteen sarcophagi in a row, end to end, and touching one another. All when found had been opened and rifled. Two only among them bear inscriptions, of which one is Pagan and the other Christian.

At the far end of the city westwards are the ruins of the Amphitheatre (Fig. 44), perhaps the '*theatrum*' mentioned by Thomas the Archdeacon as the only building that survived the conflagration

of the Avars in 639[1]. Although, however, a smooth oval mead preserves the form of the arena, little enough remains at the present day of the building itself. The most perfect part is the great eastern entrance with its wide central passage between two narrower ones, and a few arches of the outer walls remain in other parts of the circuit. The situation is a lovely one, and commands a fine view of the sea lake of Salona and the narrow gorge at the far end where the ancient city of Tragurium with its bridges links the island of Bua to the mainland.

The city walls bear signs of having been repeatedly battered down and repaired. In some parts may be seen the large fair regular masonry of the empire in its prime; on this as a substructure is often to be seen a much ruder wall, the work of a degenerate age, raised perhaps in a hurry to ward off some impending attack. At different times bastions have been applied to the walls on the outside, touching but not bonded to the older fabric, the first series of these towers being square, and a later series, dating it is supposed from 400 A.D., projecting with a beak or triangle to the front like a similar bastion observed by Fortis in the ruins of Assesia[2]. Traces of eighty-eight towers in all have been found in the circuit of

[1] 'Hostile quippe incendium consumpserat omnia, turres et moenia prostrata jacebant; solum Theatri aedificium, quod in occidentali parte constructum fuerat, adhuc integrum remanebat.' Thomas Archid. c. ix.

[2] Vid. sup. Vrana, vol. i. p. 365.

the walls, of which forty-three are plainly visible. Salona was taken and retaken many times by Goths and Huns and other barbarians before the time of its final and irretrievable ruin in 639 at the hands of the Avars, and the broken and patched walls tell the tale of the troubled fortunes of the city. It was taken by Theodoric in 490, recovered by the Byzantines in 535; retaken by Theodatus the Gothic king, and again recovered by the Empire; a third time conquered by the Goths in 547, and finally retaken by the Empire in 551.

Beyond the limits of the Roman city, but in a line continuous with the walls, may be seen on the road to Traü some remains of walls built of huge stones laid in regular courses without mortar, and of fair workmanship with neatly bevelled edges, resembling as Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarks Greek masonry rather than Roman; and according to one theory these are the remains of an age preceding that of the Roman conquest. It has been suggested that they may have been 'long walls' to connect Salona with a port further down the coast where there was more depth of water, and if so, this may partly explain the exaggerated estimates of the length of the city which have been quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

Traü.

History. Riviera dei Castelli. The Duomo. The Loggia. Other Churches. Domestic buildings.

Traü, the ancient Tragurium, is supposed to have been originally colonized in 380 B.C. by Syracusan Greeks from the island of Issa or Lissa[1]. It is mentioned by Polybius and Strabo; Pliny[2] speaks of it as a town of Roman citizens famed for its marble; Constantine Porphyrogenitus reckons it among the towns which still remained Roman in his time, and he describes its singular natural position on a peninsula, in shape like a water melon (*ἀγγυρίον*), from which resemblance he derives the name of the place[3]. This isthmus was in later times cut through,

[1] Fortis. Lucio cites Polybius, fragm. to the effect that Tragurium and Epetium (*Stobrez*) were subject to Lissa. De Regn. lib. i. c. i.

[2] Lib. iii. c. xxii. Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 368 note.

[3] *Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τετραγγούριν μικρόν ἐστι νησίον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἔχον καὶ τράχηλον ἕως τῆς γῆς στενώτατον δίκην γεφυρίου ἐν ᾧ διέρχονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον. Τετραγγούριν δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ μικρὸν δίκην ἀγγυρίου. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ ἀπόκειται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυρ Λαυρέντιος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων.* Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. ch. xxix. Another derivation of the name is from Troghilon, a place near Syracuse, whence the colonists of Lissa came. Celio Cega, La chiesa di Traü.

and the town is now reached by a wooden bridge over the gap, while another bridge joins it to the island of Bua.

Remaining under the nominal sovereignty of the Byzantine court till the great expedition of Pietro Orseolo II. against the Narentines in 998, Traü in that year submitted like the rest of Dalmatia to the Venetians. In 1105 she admitted the supremacy of Coloman, but was allowed to retain her municipal liberties. Lucio cites the charter granted to the Traürini in 1108[1], which furnishes a good instance of those generally enjoyed by the Latin or Dalmatian cities.

After the death of Coloman Traü and Spalato surrendered to the Doge Ordelafo Faliero in 1117, but the enterprises of the Venetians in the Holy Land left their new possessions in the Adriatic unguarded, and in 1123 Traü was taken and sacked by the Saracens and destroyed[2]. The city was still in ruins and almost if not quite deserted[3] when Stephen II. invaded Dalmatia and recovered it for the Hungarian crown. He confirmed the fugitive inhabitants on their return in their ancient privileges, which were again confirmed and enlarged by Geiza II. in 1151[4].

In 1171 Traü submitted to the Emperor Manuel,

[1] Luc. de Regn. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 117. Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 44.

[2] Farlati, iv. 317, 'cladem Saracenicam et Tragurii eversionem censeo cum Joanne Lucio conferendam in annum 1123.' Other writers say 1125, vid. Celio Cega.

[3] Lucio, de Regn. iii. vi. vii. Vid. sup. vol. i. chap. i. p. 46.

[4] Ibid. c. viii.

and was in consequence taken and partly destroyed by the Venetians in the same year, a comparatively easy task as the town walls had not yet been completely restored since their overthrow by the Saracens[1]. In 1182 it appears from a confirmation of privileges by Bela III. that the city was again under Hungarian rule; but in the following year the Doge personally received the submission of the Traürini, who however on the retirement of the Venetian fleet reverted at once to the Hungarians[2]. Lucio implies that this succession of easy conquests was due to the feeble condition in which the Saracen invasion had left the city.

Bela IV. took refuge at Traü from the Tartars in 1242, and fled thence to hide himself in a neighbouring islet, still known as Kraglievatz '*the King's seat.*' Caydan the Tartar leader followed him from Spalato to Traü, but as he had no boats, and as the deep muddy bottom of the channel made it unfordable, he was obliged to retire[3], and Traü escaped the fate of Buda and Gran.

After the retreat of the Tartars Traü like Spalato and Sebenico enjoyed a short period of independence, which, however, was badly employed by all three commonwealths in hostilities with one another, until an end was put to them by the interposition of the Ban of Bosnia[4].

The tyranny of the counts of Bribir and the pira-

[1] Lucio, de Regn. c. x. [2] Ibid. c. xii.

[3] Thomas Archid. chapters xxxix to xlii; vid. sup. vol. i. p. 67.

[4] Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 371; and vol. ii. p. 7.

cies of the Almissans at last drove the maritime cities into the arms of Venice, and in 1322 the Traürini voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the Republic of St. Mark, their ancient customs statutes and privileges being secured to them by treaty. The degree of independence which was enjoyed by those communities which were in this manner subject to Venetian overrule is shewn by the league formed in 1332 between Traü Spalato and Sebenico and Neliptio count of Knin against the Ban of Bosnia, with whom Venice had no quarrel. On behalf of Traü the count Giovanni Gradenigo, with the consent and will of the nobles of Traü, promised one hundred and forty men. The contingent from Spalato was one hundred, and that from Sebenico one hundred and sixty; but it would perhaps be unsafe to base any comparison of the relative strength of the three places on these figures.

In 1357 the sufferings inflicted on the Dalmatian possessions of Venice by the Hungarians provoked Traü and Spalato to submit to Lewis [1]. The Venetian garrisons and magistrates were surprised, the two counts were sent honourably to Venice at the public expense, and the flag of Hungary was hoisted in place of the Lion of St. Mark.

Lewis of Hungary confirmed the ancient privileges of Traü and Spalato, and the Hungarian rule lasted till 1420, a period marked by civil troubles between the exiled and the dominant faction. In

[1] Tabula a Cutheis, ch. ii, iii. Vid. sup. vol. i. ch. i. p. 111.

1398 the Genoese fleet took refuge at Traü after their defeat at Chioggia, and were here unsuccessfully assailed by Pisani[1].

Tvartko during the brief period of his rule confirmed the privileges of the Traürini, as did Ladislaus of Naples during his equally brief supremacy in Dalmatia. On the defection of Hervoye Traü, like all Dalmatia except Zara, returned to Hungarian allegiance, and at the bidding of Sigismund equipped three new triremes and some smaller ships which inflicted considerable injury on the Venetian marine. This brought on the Traürini the fleet of Pietro Loredano, who after receiving the submission of Brazza Lesina and Curzola, besieged Traü, bombarded it for two days from the island of Bua, and on the third day, June 22, 1420, received its capitulation.

From the time of its final annexation to the Venetian dominions the annals of Traü are uneventful. In 1797 the revolutionary wave made itself felt here, and some disturbances occurred during which the Palazzo Garagnin was plundered and several lives were lost. In 1806 Traü was occupied by the French, and in 1813 the Austrians returned, since which time the history of Traü is silent.

The easiest way of visiting Traü is by carriage from Spalato. The road skirts the shore of the inland sea of Salona, known as the Riviera dei

[1] Lucio, de Regn. v. c. 1.

Castelli from the chain of forts built along it by the Traürini in the fifteenth century, when the Turkish conquests of the interior first brought that people into dangerous proximity to the coast[1]. This basin, sheltered from the Bora by the Cabani mountains, and from the storms of the Adriatic by the high ridge of the island of Bua, is the most fertile and highly cultivated district in Dalmatia. Though the mountains close behind are rocky and sterile, the foreshore is well clothed with vegetation, and the

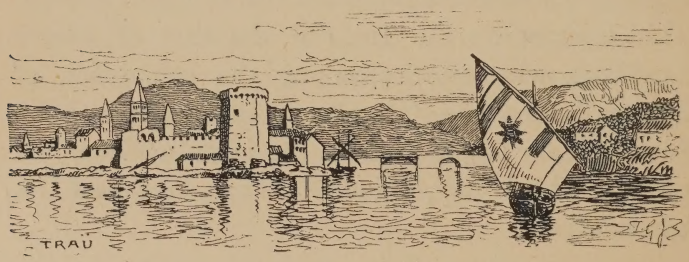


Fig. 45.

scenery through which the road passes might almost be called soft.

Salona is the first of a string of populous villages that line the road. Next comes Vranjica, or Piccola Venezia, a fisherman's village on a long narrow peninsula very like the isola dei Pescatori in Lago Maggiore, where it is said was the naval arsenal of the Roman city. Then follow Castel Sučuraz, Castel Vitturi, and Castelnuovo, with four castelli of lesser importance, each a thriving village that has grown up under the shadow of the fortress that still stands in

[1] Vid. supra, General History, vol. i. p. 148.

the midst of it. At last a turn in the road brings Traü into view; and an open space in front of the city gate is reached after crossing by a bridge the silver streak of sea that saved the city from the Tartar hordes.

Opposite us was the Porta di terra firma, crowned by the statue of S. Giovanni Orsini the patron saint of the city, and bearing over the gate the Lion of St. Mark, here as everywhere asserting the ancient sovereignty of the Queen of the Adriatic. But this particular lion is famous for the cypress bush in which it is embowered, which springs from between two stones over the gateway, and is miraculously sustained, as the Traürini believe, by S. Giovanni himself. Eitelberger[1] says that the Morlacchi prognosticate a good or bad season from the appearance of this bush, according as its foliage is green or yellow.

As at other Dalmatian towns the carriage has to be left outside the walls, for the streets are not laid out for wheel traffic, and indeed in the narrowness and intricacy of its alleys Traü surpasses Spalato itself as much as Spalato surpasses Zara or Sebenico. After making many turns and twists and diving under several archways, we finally emerged into fresh air and daylight in the Piazza del Duomo, a smoothly-flagged square with the cathedral and the ancient loggia at the sides, the Palazzo Communale at one end, and the Palazzo Cippico at the other. There is something very pleasing and sig-

[1] Eitelberger, p. 186.

nificant in the centralization of the life of an ancient municipality in the ἀγορά, forum, or piazza, round which the principal public buildings of the community were assembled, and in the adornment of which every citizen took a personal pride; and the piazza of Traü is not inferior in beauty or interest to any other in Dalmatia save perhaps that of Spalato, which has of course an interest that is all its own.

[1] The duomo of Traü has the great advantage of being built throughout in one consistent style and according to one design. The additions which it has received in later times are so made as to leave the original fabric untouched, and with the exception of the western tower they are not visible in any general view that can be obtained of the exterior. The church has also the advantage, so rare in Italy, of being completed outside as well as inside, instead of presenting like so many Italian churches a rough face of unfinished brickwork or masonry, awaiting, and awaiting in vain, the splendid veneer of marble or sculpture that never comes. In this respect the Dalmatian churches seldom fail to satisfy the eye; though they were very long in

[1] A good deal of interesting matter relating to the church has been collected by the Abbate Vinc. di Celio Cega in his 'La chiesa di Traü,' published at Spalato, 1855. It is out of print, and I had to seek for a copy in the public and private libraries at Traü. The book, however, is full of inaccuracies, and the inscriptions are misquoted. The author cites as his authorities, besides Lucio and Farlati, various unpublished MSS., especially one by Paolo Andreis in the capitular library at Traü, which brings the history down to 1645.

building, the modest scale on which they were planned enabled their builders, sooner or later, to complete them handsomely and well, and to make them as beautiful without as they were within.

It is said that a church existed here in the time of Constantine, and that it was rebuilt in 503 with the bequest of Quirinus a patrician of Salona[1]. In 1123 this cathedral perished at the destruction of the city by the Saracens, and its reconstruction was hardly begun in 1200–3. The work was again suspended, but was resumed in good earnest by Bishop Treguano, a Florentine, who ruled the see from 1206 till 1259[2]. In 1207 the Comune granted him certain farms for the benefit of the church, and the work progressed slowly but steadily, the south door bearing the date 1213, the splendid western door that of 1240, and the walls being finished it is said in 1251. The west gable of the nave however bears the arms of Bishop Casotti, 1362–71, from which it would seem that a long interruption of the work took place, and it is said the nave vaults were not closed before 1440. The lower stage of the campanile above the porch roof is dated 1421, and the top of it with its spire was finished at the close of the sixteenth century, when the completion of the church was recorded by an inscription on the north wall of the nave, NVNQVAM PRIVS AN · M · D · XCVIII.

The plan is basilican (Fig. 46), with nave and aisles five bays in length, and ending in three apses,

[1] Lucio, Memorie di Traü, p. 8.

[2] So Celia Cega, Gams 1255.

CATHEDRAL OF TRAÜ (from Eitelberger)

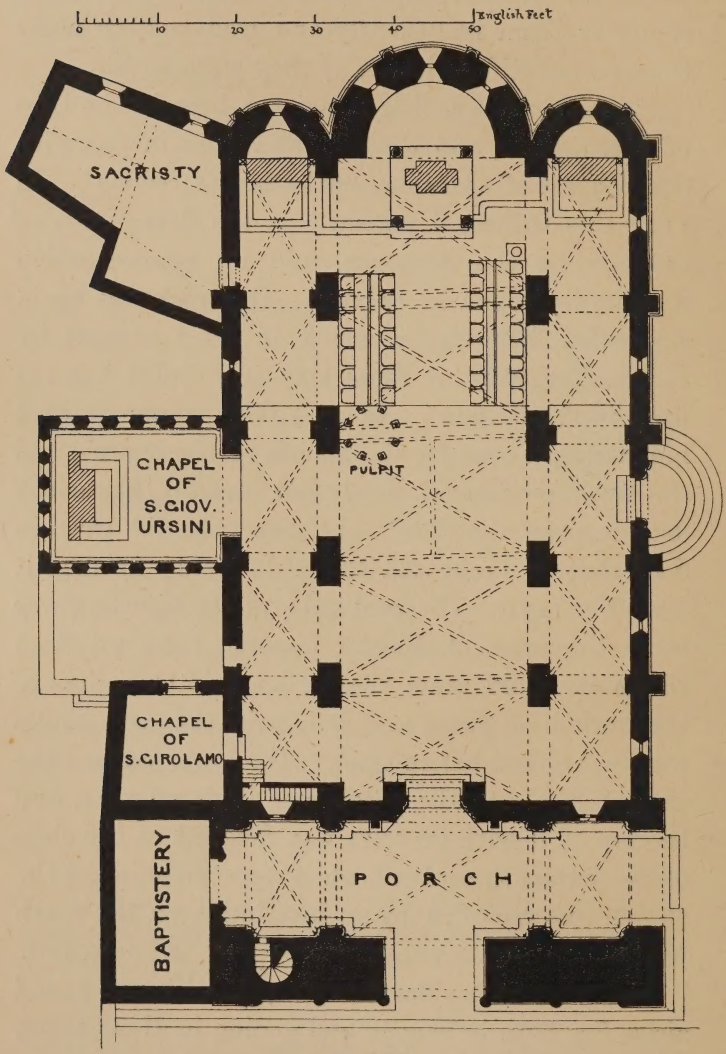


Fig. 46.

and the west end is preceded by a magnificent Galilee-porch or narthex of the full width of nave and aisles. This Galilee rises to half the height of the nave, and was to have been surmounted by two western towers with spires, between which the west end of the nave with its gable and rose window would have been seen recessed to the back of the porch and towers. One tower of the two has been completed, and, though the upper part is not worthy of the lower, it forms a splendid finish to the cathedral.

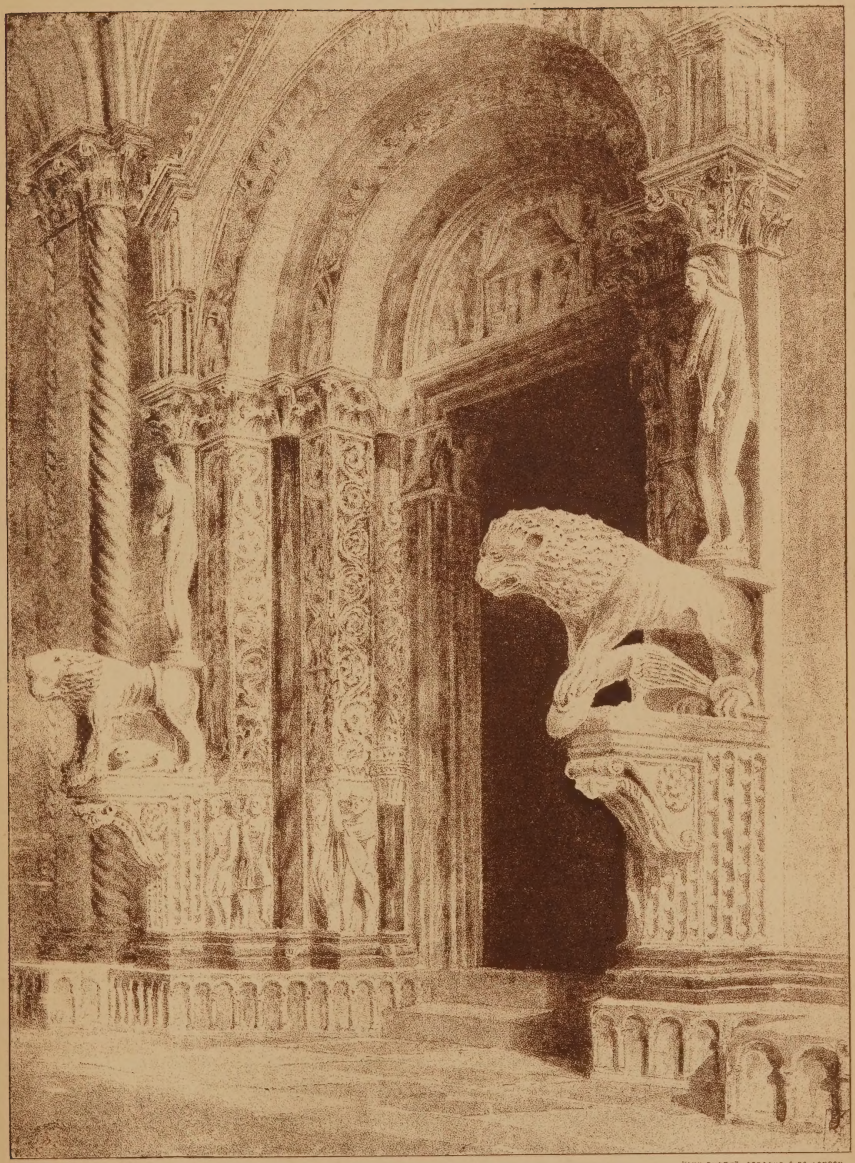
The porch is vaulted in three bays, a square bay under each tower and an oblong bay opposite the nave. The transverse arches are round, and the vaults are quadripartite with ribs and panels, the length of the central bay causing the vault to rise in quite a dome above the level of the flat terrace roof of the porch. The wall shafts are spirally fluted, the bases are Attic with 'toes,' and they rest on a stylobate or seat of marble, of which the riser is ornamented with blank arcading.

This porch forms a magnificent vestibule, adding much to the dignity of the church, and the tempered light which reigns within enhances the solemn splendour of the sumptuous western portal of the nave, the glory not of Traü only, but of the whole province, a work which in simplicity of conception, combined with richness of detail, and marvellous finish of execution, has never been surpassed in romanesque or Gothic art (vid. Plate XXI). Erected, as the imperfect inscription on the lintel records,

in 1240, it is still thoroughly romanesque in general design, but its comparatively lofty proportion and the refinement of its execution shew that it belongs to the late or transitional period of the style[1]. It is round arched and square-ordered, but slender octagonal shafts are set in the square reveals of the jambs, and roll mouldings run continuously from them round the arch. It has the square lintel and semicircular tympanum of all Dalmatian portals, but above the arch is a gabled and crocketted pediment traced on the wall by a projecting moulding, enclosing a small niche and a figure of S. Lorenzo, which shews the lateness of the date more than the lower part of the doorway.

In the centre of the tympanum is a sculpture of the Nativity with its attendant circumstances, arranged in two stories one above the other, and enclosed by a canopy of curtains. In the upper story the Virgin lies in bed with the infant Saviour in a cradle, behind which appear an ox and an ass, while the presaging star from above pours a ray of light on the Saviour's head. Below runs a rhyming hexameter in Lombardics + INSTITIS INVOLVIT VIRGO QVI CRIMINA SOLVIT. In the lower story the holy child is being washed, while Joseph and a shepherd sit by. On the bowl is the legend, also in Lombardics, VERGITUR IN CŌCA DILUIT QUI SCĒLA CUNCTA. Outside the canopy, to the proper left, the three kings are seen approaching on horse-

[1] The opening of the square doorway measures about 11 feet by 7 feet 4 inches, the height being to the width approximately as 3 to 2.



T.G.J.

West doorway of Duomo.

"INK-PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON

back with the names GUASPAR · BALTHSSAR inscribed on the stone; and on the proper right are the shepherds with their flocks, to whom an angel announces the gospel. Along the lintel runs the inscription recording the date 1240 in the episcopate of the Florentine Treguano, and the name of the artist Raduanus or Radovan (Fig. 47). Here again we find a latinized Croat rivalling if not surpassing

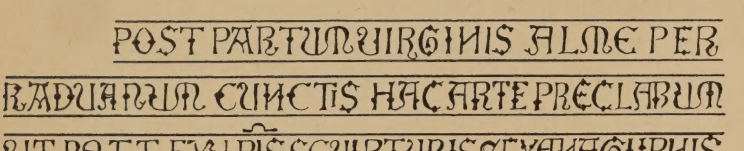

POST PARTUM VIRGINIS ALME PER
RADUANUM CUNCTIS HAC ARTE PRECLARUM
UT PATET EX IPSIS SCULPTURIS EXAMINATIS
ANNO MILLENO DUCENO BISQUICENO PRESULE
TUSCANO FLORIS.
TRAU. A.D. 1240.

Fig. 47.

in their own style the romanesque artists of the other side of the Adriatic and Germany [1].

The two orders of the archway have figure subjects running round them on their outer or vertical faces. The series begins with the baptism of our Lord at the sinister or proper left side, and at the springing level; one angel holds drapery ready to receive him, and another swings a censer. The next subject is the casting out of devils, curiously

[1] Celio Cega, by a monstrous misreading 'per Radovanum Crohatis ante predam aut pertinet ex Christi culturis exagliphis,' etc., arrives at the conclusion, which has been accepted by many at Traü, that this doorway was carved by Christians before the Croatian conquest of 639, and was brought hither in 1240!

represented by a compound body of man and devil with wings on the legs. Above this are the three women approaching the tomb, on which stands a figure of our Lord, with an angel censing. The three guards wear mail armour, short swords, a helmet like a wide-brimmed hat, and mail armour round the face. At the crown of the arch is the crucifixion between St. John and St. Mary, and two kneeling figures next the cross, which is represented of rough wood framed not crosswise but like a Y. Descending the other side of the arch the first subject is the scourging of our Lord who is bound to a column; then our Lord with his hands bound, led by three soldiers who carry swords; then the feast in Simon's house with the woman washing and kissing our Lord's feet, and the raising of the widow's son, the last two being mixed into one group. Below this is the triumphal entry into Jerusalem with Zaccheus climbing into the tree and figures strewing garments in the way; and lastly, at the springing level of the dexter or proper right side, the flight into Egypt with an angel hovering above [1].

The inner order begins at the springing level with the Annunciation, the Angel bearing a long standard-like staff being over the dexter jamb, and the Virgin over the sinister: she holds in her hand a spindle, and stands in front of a small building with a

[1] These subjects fall into their proper order by beginning at the bottom and reading from side to side alternately upwards to the crown.

cupola. At the crown of the arch is the adoration of the Magi, who wear low 'pork-pie' caps and are dressed in tunic and chlamys, and approach with considerable action, each holding a casket. The rest of the archivolt, right and left, is filled with angels flying towards the centre, the group to the proper left being preceded by a flying figure, bearded, shod, and wrapped in a large mantle, who holds in his hand an object like the head of a crutch. Behind him flies an angel resting his hand on the shoulder of this figure. Several of the little floating angels with upturned heads and fluttering drapery remind one of the lovely angels by Agostino di Duccio in the tympanum of the church of S. Bernardino at Perugia.

The soffits of these arches are now plain; Eitelberger says they were once sculptured, and that the sculpture has been cut away by an unskilful '*restorer*.' Examining the soffits carefully from a ladder I could see nothing to confirm this, but I did find traces of an inscription in Lombardics like that on the lintel, and this seems to disprove the existence of sculptures.

The jambs have an order in addition to those under the arch, which stands in front of the wall and supports the piers from which the gabled pediment starts. Against these projecting pilasters stands Adam on one side, and Eve on the other and curiously enough the *dexter* side. They are ill-modelled, as is usually the case with attempts of mediæval sculptors to represent the nude figure,

but though incorrect and grotesque from an academic point of view, and extravagant in their imitation and exaggeration of individual peculiarities, they have, for all that, a certain naïveté and genuine intention which gives them an artistic value. Eve stands on a lioness with a sheep in her clutches, and her cubs asleep beneath her; Adam on a lion which holds down a griffin with his claws; and whatever may be the shortcomings of Adam, no nobler or more impressive beast was ever conventionalized by mediæval fancy than his supporter. These animals project boldly forward on a magnificent console of a very classic type, which is itself supported by a short square fluted pier, with little balls disposed at regular intervals in the flutings, the balls in the pier under Eve being pierced with a little hole.

The outer order of the jambs next Adam and Eve have on each side three apostles framed in medallions formed by interlacing stems of vine; those next Adam have each a nimbus, those next Eve, including Peter, have none, but two of them have a little canopy over their heads. On the inner sides of this order are various beasts; on Eve's side a stag or goat, a sheep, a camel, an elephant, a hippopotamus (?), and a flying griffin which plucks out the eyes of a pig; on Adam's side an equestrian, a centaur with his arrow, a mermaid, a sea-horse, and at the bottom a griffin devouring a scroll whence hangs a human head. In the square reveal within this order is an octagonal shaft of green marble which, though it has

a capital, is continued as a moulding round the arch, and worked independently of it as is often done in Italian work of the same kind.

The next order has various scenes from rural life; a woodcutter, a leather-worker, a man boiling a pot and perhaps making sausages, a string of which, resembling the 'luganica' which travellers in Dalmatia know so well, hangs behind him, while he holds another sausage in a ladle over the pot with one hand and with the other raises a cup into which a servant pours water; a man killing a pig, while a kind of camel-monster seems attacking him in the rear; sheep-shearing; a figure with a scroll or label on which the inscription has been omitted; an armed warrior, and a naked wild man of the woods. The scroll-work on the inner face of this order is magnificent and in its way unsurpassable, boldly designed, but yet finished like ivory carving.

These two orders are supported at their lower part by human figures, some of which are clothed and some half naked. Two of them wear turbans, as do the morlacchi of Spalato to the present day, who may therefore have been thus attired before the coming of the Turks into Europe. Those who are dressed wear a tunic with a kind of toga, not differing much, if at all, from the general mediæval dress of Europe at that time. Some are barefoot, but one has the ordinary mediæval shoe with pointed toe, and another wears a kind of sandal, and above it a sort of legging wrapped round with bands tied at the calf not unlike those of the contadini in the Roman

Campagna. These figures and others in the doorway are interesting portraits of the Dalmatian peasantry of the thirteenth century.

The octagonal shafts of green marble in the innermost reveal are interrupted each by a length of shaft richly sculptured in fine white limestone. These pieces, though coeval with the doorway, are evidently not originally intended for their present place; nor are they a pair, for while that on Eve's side is complete with a necking and a lower moulding of its own, that on Adam's side is broken off at top and hollowed out to receive the octagonal shaft above it, and the work of the two is evidently not by the same hand, that on Eve's side being far the finer of the two. Both of them are magnificently designed and are worked with the finish of ivory; and fine as is the rest of the doorway, these fragments are perhaps superior in point of execution to the rest. Tradition says that these cylinders, if not the whole doorway, were brought from the church of the castle of Bihač, an old residence of Croatian and afterwards of Hungarian royalty about three miles from Traü, which was visited by Sigismund in 1387, and afterwards abandoned, and of which only a few traces now remain[1]. It is possible that on the abandon-

[1] Farlati calls Bihač 'oppidum magnificentissimum et aula regia,' of the Kings of Croatia, Tom. i. p. 481. But there could hardly have been a *town* there without its playing some part in history. Fortis points out several inaccuracies in Farlati, and this may be another of the same kind; for instance, he describes Vrana Scardona and Verlika as strong walled towns, though in his day one was a heap of ruins and the other two were open villages. Vid. Fortis, p. 256, English edition.

T.G.J.

Detail of West doorway

INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

ment of Bihač these carved columns may have been brought to Traü and placed where we see them, the middle part of the original octagonal shafts being cut out to make room for them.

These cylinders are carved with scroll-work interspersed with figures of marvellously delicate execution; in that on Eve's side is a woman, perhaps Europa, seated on a bull with forelegs only and a serpent's tail; a peasant with a hare slung on a stick over his shoulder; a bear killing a man; Pan, shaggy, with goat's feet and horns, and in each hand a bunch of leaves; a figure fleeing from a serpent; two men carrying a slain boar with a wound in his side; two sportsmen with bows and greyhounds; a man 'gralloching' a stag while his tired dogs pant and one lies curled up asleep; and at the lower end the subjects shewn in my sketch (Plate XXII). The opposite cylinder, which is fine though not equal to the first, has the hunt of a lion and a boar in an oakwood, hounds, a youth with a falcon, peasants engaged in woodcraft cutting and twisting stems of the scroll-work that envelopes the shaft, and two figures fighting of whom one forces the other's head down. The figures wear a short tunic and girdle, pointed shoes and a fillet round the head, and are armed with a short sword and a round shield with which they defend themselves against the lion and the boar[1].

[1] Eitelberger argues that these shafts must have come from the interior of the country, because neither stags nor oakwoods are to be found in Dalmatia. But on the other hand neither are lions to be found in the interior.

The lintel is supported by two brackets with amorini in the renaissance style, fairly carved but incongruous in effect.

The south doorway of the church is comparatively plain, but in the same round-arched style. It has square orders with rolls laid in the reveals, of which the inner one is cabled, and the outer carved with an indescribable pattern resembling chain armour. In the semicircular tympanum is a round window enclosing a quatrefoil, and in two lines surrounding the circle is this inscription in Lombardics resembling those over the west doorway :—

HOC OPUS EST FACTUM POST PARTUM VIRGINIS ACTUM
ANNO MILLENO TREDECIM CONIUNGE DUCENO
PRESULE TUSCANO GENERE PRESIDENTE TREGUANO
PROSAPIAQ · PIA COMITE SIMUL URBIS HELIA

The side walls of the aisles are now finished with a dwarf loggia of stumpy columns carrying a wall plate, whence a lean-to roof of tiles is laid to the clerestory walls of the nave. This, however, is not original ; the aisles were in the first instance covered with a flat paved terrace like that over the west porch, and the upper roof was probably added because the original arrangement was not found watertight[1]. The old flagged terrace roofs still remain however below the others, and on their smooth surface I was interested to find lines traced by masons who had used them as tables for setting

[1] The additional height by which the eaves have been raised may be plainly seen in the view of the east end. Vid. Plate XXIII.

TRAÜ.

Plate XXIII.

T.G.J.

East end of Duomo

INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & Co LONDON.

out full size the Gothic traceries of the windows of the campanile.

The exterior of the east end with its three apses is very fine (Plate XXIII), and the whole prospect of the church from this side is imposing. The apses and the gables above have the usual romanesque round-arched cornice, and the apses are divided into bays by attached columns as at S. Grisogono in Zara, some of them spirally fluted in the same way. In the eaves cornice occur the brick-like sunk dentil and the curious fan-leaf frieze which are found also at Zara and Spalato, and the chain-mail ornament above described as existing on the south doorway and elsewhere in this church.

The interior of the cathedral of Traü is sombre and majestic. The design is simple and massive, and the height is very great, almost excessively so for the length of the building[1]. The masonry is carefully faced, and having never been whitewashed it has been brought by time and candle smoke to a warm grey colour, like our own Westminster Abbey, which has been equally fortunate in escaping the brush. The dark walls, dimly lit by the subdued light that finds its way through the narrow deeply splayed windows and the great western rose, give the interior a harmony of colour and a mysterious solemnity that is very impressive. Both nave and aisles are vaulted with quadripartite rib and panel

[1] The nave measures, according to Eitelberger's plans, about 85 × 25 feet, and its height is 56 or 57 feet to the apex of the transverse arches.

work, the bay of the nave being oblong laterally as in northern Gothic churches, and that of the aisle nearly square. The transverse arches of the nave vaults are pointed, all the other arches being round, and the ribs spring from consoles carved with Venetian foliage of the fifteenth century, the upper vaults being of that date. There are no flying buttresses to sustain them, the clerestory walls having only flat pilasters on the outside, and the thrust is resisted by iron ties across the nave, which are placed in the oddest way not at the springing of the ribs where the thrust is concentrated but in the centre of the bay, passing through the clerestory window and being made fast to a cross bar outside. According to Lucio these iron ties were fixed in 1440[1], and as the vaults would not stand without them this must be the date of the completion of the vaulting. The vaults of both nave and aisles are exceedingly domical, so much so as almost to have the effect of cupolas. The apses are covered with half domes.

The nave arcades, which are evidently of the date of the portals at the beginning of the thirteenth century, are very massive; the arches are stilted semicircles, and spring from square piers with capitals of little or no projection, consisting of several rows of plain turn-over leaves and an abacus ornamented with the chain-mail pattern above described (Fig. 48). The bays are very irregular in width, the arches are of various spans, and the piers of the two arcades are not even opposite to one another; but

[1] Celio Cega, p. 12.

the arches being stilted are easily accommodated in height, and the massiveness of the piers disguises their want of uniformity.

Round the great apse still remains the stone seat for the clergy with blank arcading in the riser like that in the porch, but the bishop's throne in the centre has been destroyed.

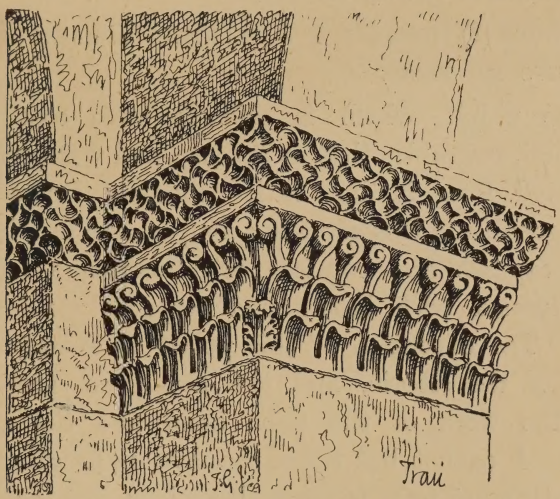


Fig. 48.

Over the altar is one of those striking ciborii or baldacchini in which Dalmatia abounds; it resembles those at Curzola and Cattaro, and consists of four cipollino pillars carrying a four-square tester or architrave surmounted by two octagonal stages of colonnettes supporting sloping roofs and gradually diminishing pyramidally. The capitals and finials are of romanesque character with leaves and animals

intertwined, something like those of the pulpit at Spalato. Over the two front pillars on the angles of the square are statues of the Virgin and the angel of the Annunciation, which are in the style of the fifteenth century, but they are evidently not original. Examining them from a ladder I found they rested on plinths with inscriptions in Lombardic letters, one of which was upside down:

TEDORE (?) BITALIS QDA MARTINI OP̄RARII[1] and MAVRVS ME FECIT.

The pulpit, which is said to have cost 800 zecchini, resembles that at Spalato, and was perhaps imitated from it, but it is octagonal instead of hexagonal, and this gives it a comparative heaviness. The capitals and cornices of romanesque foliage intertwined with beasts and serpents were once gilt. The execution of this pulpit is exactly like that of the ciborio, and the two most probably are the work of the same hand and the same time. I cannot but think the date 1440 given by Farlati[2] must refer to some alterations, such as that evidently made in the baldacchino when the old inscribed plinth of the statuette was reversed. It is hard to believe that the Traürini set up this pulpit and ciborio in a pure romanesque style twenty years after they had begun their campanile in pure Gothic with perfectly developed traceries, and in style both baldacchino and pulpit belong

[1] The 'operarius' was the official in charge of the fabric, generally one of the higher clergy or a nobleman of the city.

[2] Farlati, iv. p. 407. Celio Cega, p. 15.

rather to the thirteenth century than to the fifteenth.

The choir stalls are arranged in a double row on each side, and are fine productions of the same school of Venetian workmen to whom we owe the stalls at Zara Arbe Lesina Cherso and elsewhere in Dalmatia to which I have already referred more than once[1]. Those at Arbe are dated 1445, and these are about coeval with them. They have lost their original cornice, which was evidently like that we shall notice in the armadio of the sacristy. Each stall is said to have cost eighteen golden ducats[2]. They were restored in 1757 by bishop Caccia[3], and again in 1852.

The Sacristy, whose interior with its stone-vaulted roof would make an admirable picture, is chiefly remarkable for the beautiful '*armadio*,' or wardrobe of carved and inlaid walnut wood which lines the wall. The building was erected under bishop Cavazza about 1447, and cost 4020 zecchini. The armadio with its carving and intarsiatura is the work of Gregorio da Vido, and was made in 1458 at an expense of 125 ducats[4]. Its carved cornices are of exquisite workmanship in the Venetian Gothic of that period.

The treasury of the church which is contained in the sacristy was formerly one of the richest in Dalmatia[5], and it still retains several objects of

[1] Vid. sup., vol. I. pp. 228–274.

[2] Celio Cega, p. 15. [3] Farlati, iv. 407.

[4] P. Andreas. ined., lib. vii, cited by Celio; Lucio, Memorie, p. 488. [5] Farlati, iv. 308.

interest, of which the following are the most remarkable :—

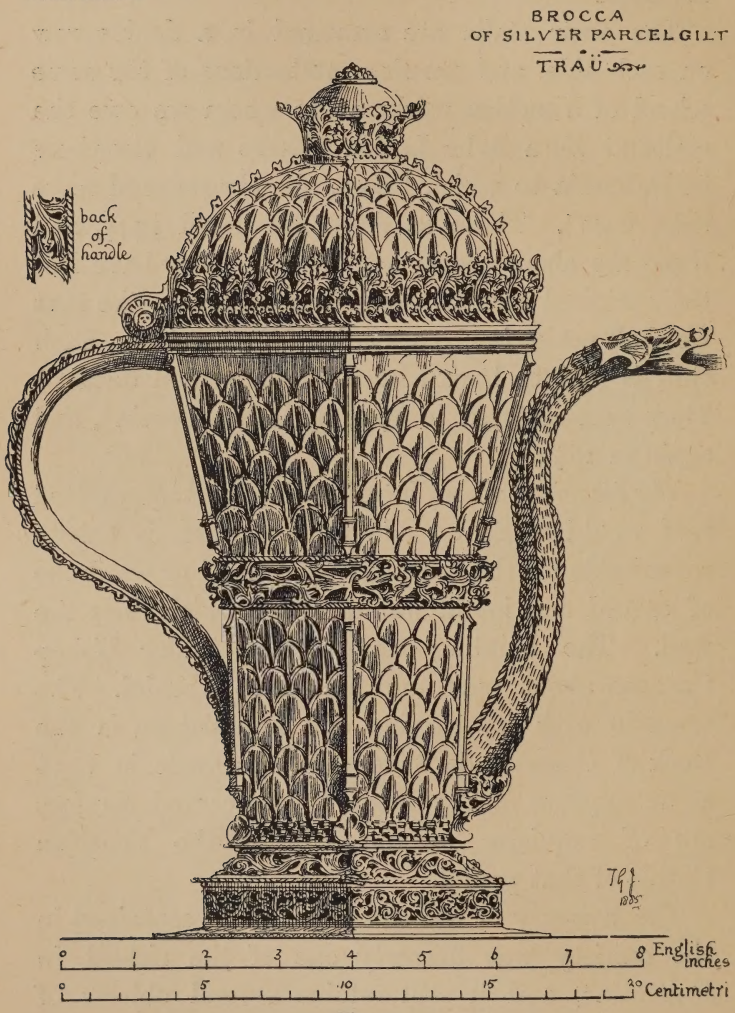


Fig. 49.

1. A 'brocca' or ewer of silver gilt, twelve inches high (Fig. 49), said to have been given by a queen

of Hungary, or, according to others, by bishop Casotti (1362–71), but this date seems to me too early. It is hexagonal and of very unusual form, German in style, and of very good and highly finished workmanship.

2. An ostensorio of exquisite workmanship, with pierced and interwoven work of foliage and birds like that carved on the pulpit, the birds beautifully finished with a tool after casting. The upper part has Gothic canopies. The date is apparently in the fifteenth century if not earlier.

There are also a good ivory triptych, a silver cross with figures of St. John and the Virgin on branches right and left, and two arm-shaped reliquaries like those at Spalato. The red velvet mitre set with stones and pearls, which is said to be the one bequeathed by bishop Casotti, is very fine, and may be of that date, but the pastoral staff which is shewn as his is not so old as his time. Neither can the embroidered vestment, said to be part of the 'imperiali panni' of Prince William, bequeathed to the church by his bride in 1242[1], be of that date, the architectural ornaments having interpenetrating cusps in the German style of the fifteenth century.

On the north side of the church are three additional buildings of a date posterior to the main fabric. The oldest of the three is the chapel of S. Girolamo, which was built by Nicoletta, widow of Giacomo Sabotta, the contract for the work bearing the date of July 1458[2].

[1] Vid. infra, p. 135. [2] Lucio, Memor., p. 488; Celio Cega.

The chapel of S. Giovanni Orsini, which opens into the north nave aisle in the same way as the chapel of S. Antonio in his church at Padua, to which indeed it bears some resemblance, was begun under bishop Turlon or Turlono [1], the architects being Nicolò Fiorentino, of whom we have already heard at Sebenico [2], and Andrea di Alessio, or as he is elsewhere called Andrea Alecxi of Durazzo, an Albanian artist of whom we hear again both here and at Spalato and Arbe. The contract was dated Jan. 4, 1468, the stipulated price being 3300 ducats, and the work occupied six years. The chapel is rectangular, and lined with rich architecture and sculpture in the style of the renaissance. The waggon vault is divided into panels containing each a cherub's head and wings, the central compartment, which occupies the area of four ordinary panels, being filled with a half length figure of Christ holding an orb in his left hand and blessing with the right, and surrounded by a wreath. On the lunette of the north end wall is carved the coronation of the Virgin; the principal figures are only mediocre performances, but some of the little cherubic figures that cluster around are very pretty. Below the springing run two cornices divided by a space which is pierced with round windows between flat pilasters. The stage below is the most important; each side wall contains six round arches, of which two are pierced with windows, and the

[1] Giacomo Turlon or Turlono, of Ancona, was Bishop of Traü from 1452 till 1484. Celio Cega calls him Furlon.

[2] Vid. supra, Sebenico, vol. I. p. 401, and Spalato, vol. II. p. 531.

other four sunk into niches containing statues nearly as large as life. On the west are 1. S. TOMAS; 2. S. IOANNES EVANGELISTA; 3. a nameless saint with a book in his left hand; 4. S. PAVLVS with a sword in his right and a book in his left hand, over which he bends as he reads. On the east are 5. a nameless saint with a beard; 6. S. FILIPPO holding a roll, and with bushy hair projecting over his eyes Italian fashion; 7. an aged saint, St. John the Evangelist, with long beard, pen and book, and an eagle at his feet; 8. a figure with crisp short beard holding a book between his hands and looking sideways. In the north wall two similar niches, one on each side, contain the Madonna and St. John the Baptist, and in the central space is our Lord. By the nave arch is St. Mark with his lion. The statues, each of which cost twenty-five ducats, were begun in 1482, the first being St. John the Evangelist, by Andrea and Nicolò. In the sixteenth century were carved the two statues which are most highly prized, those of St. Paul (No. 4) and St. John the Evangelist as a young man (No. 2). They are said to be the work of Alessandro Vittoria, a pupil of Jacopo Sansovino[1]. The reading figure of St. Paul is expressive, but the drapery is clumsily managed and arranged in unnatural folds, and none

[1] Lucio, Mem., p. 488, says two statues were by Vittoria. Vasari in his life of Sansovino says that Alessandro Vittoria 'in Dalmazia mandò pure di pietra quattro Apostoli nel duomo di Treu alti cinque piedi l' uno.' It is suggested by Celio Cega that the other two which have the names inscribed on them, *S. Filippo* and *S. Tomas*, may be the remaining pair.

of the figures rise above mediocrity except Nos. 2 and 8, which are really fine and full of character. Below this stage is another consisting of square panels divided by pilasters. Each panel is supposed to be filled by a pair of folding doors, of which one is ajar, and through the opening emerges a winged boy holding a torch. The attitudes of these children are varied and shew a good deal of fancy; some have flaming torches, others are blowing torches which are nearly or quite extinguished; but the execution of the figures is unequal. A seat with a decorated riser forms the base of the wall and completes the design.

The altar stands in the middle of the floor away from the walls, and above it, smothered in modern flummery and rococo marble work, is the ark of white marble with twisted columns containing the body of the saint. The panels are of a red marble resembling that of Languedoc, and the twisted shafts were once gilt. On the sloping lid lies the figure of S. Giovanni Orsini, and behind, in Lombardic letters beautifully cut in relief, is the rhyming inscription with the date 1348, the shrine being much older than the chapel which contains it.

HOC SEPULCRVM VIDEAT — CUNCTA GENS DEVO \
INCLINATO CAPITE — ATQVE FIDE TO / TA

IN QUO SANTI TEGITUR — CORPUS CONFESSO \
IOHANNIS TRAGVRII — VERI DEFENSO / RIS

DEVOTI ANTISTITIS — — QUEM NARRAT SCRIPTU \
FECISSE MIRACULA — IN VITA QUAM · PLU / RA

VOLENS HUJUS PRESULIS — VITAM SANCTAM SCI
IN LEGENDIS MISTICIS — DEBET REPERI RE

QUI POST SACRUM OBITUM — LANGUIDOS SANA
AB OMNI INSANIA — MULTOS HIC CURA VIT

NUNC CONTRITI PROPERENT — SANCTUM EXORA
PURO CORDE JUGITER — PIUM IMPLORA RE

VT DIGNETUR PONTIFEX — VERVS INTERCESS
IMPETRARE VENIAM — HIIS DEI CONFESS OR

CUJUS CULTOR OPERUM — HIC FUIT TRANSLAT
PER CLERUM ET POPULUM — SOLEPNI LOCAT US

CUM HYMNIS ET CANTICIS — LAUDIBUS DIVIN
ATQUE CUM LETITIA — CUNCTIS TRAGURIN IS

SUB MILLENO DOMINI — ANNO TRECENTE
OCTAVO POST ADDITO — SUBQUE QUADRAGE NO

HUJUS SACRI CORPORIS — DIES CELEBRAN
QUAE VIGENA JULII — ET SENA EST DAN DA[1]

Giovanni Orsini, who was born at Rome, and who became bishop of Traü about 1064, was a great mechanician and engineer; his scientific feats, like those of Ghetaldi in a later age, seemed to the simplicity of his contemporaries due to supernatural agency, and after his canonization many miracles of which science was guiltless were added to the list. Celio Cega relates with all gravity how he caused a scanty vintage to produce an unusual quantity of wine; how he walked on the waves to rescue a shipwrecked crew off La Planca; how in 1105 with a stone from a sling he destroyed

[1] Copied from Celio Cega and Eitelberger. I did not collate the whole with the original, but I observe the abbreviations are expanded.

Coloman's battering-ram; how Coloman was overcome by the sight of a dove that settled on his saintly head while he was celebrating mass; and how at last he died in sanctity '*upon the thorns which formed his accustomed couch.*' When the Venetians sacked Traü in 1171 under Doge Vitale Michieli they searched the ark for treasure, and finding only the body of the saint they threw it on the shore, after tearing off one arm for the sake of the ring which miraculously refused to be removed in any other way. The arm was deposited in the church of S. Giovanni di Rialto, and to the entreaties of the Traürini for its restoration the Venetians only replied that they kept it with greater honour than the Traürini could shew it. It was finally restored by Doge Sebastiani Ziani in 1174; but so tame a conclusion did not satisfy the Traürini, who will have it that S. Giovanni, '*who would be all their own,*' caused his arm to return on the eve of his festival, in the same year in which it was stolen, when it '*came flying like a comet through the air and was found on the ark wrapped in white linen.*' After this it is no wonder Giovanni was beatified in 1192, that the abbot of S. Giovanni Evangelista who doubted his sanctity was punished by a good bout of ague, and that miraculous cures have been wrought by the relic even in the nineteenth century[1].

[1] S. Giovanni was instrumental in supplanting the local and Slavonic ritual by the Latin. Eitelberger observes that Rome has been careful to canonize those of her champions who succeeded in

The Baptistery opens out of the north end of the western portico, and was built in 1467 by the same architect as the chapel of S. Giovanni, as appears by an inscription over the inner side of the doorway :—

IACOBO · TORLONO · PONTIFICE
CAROLO · CAPELLO · PRAETORE
ANDREAS · ALEXIVS
DURRHACHINVS · OPIFEX · MCCCCLXVII

It is a rectangular chamber ceiled with a pointed barrel vault decorated with coffers containing rosettes. It is lighted by a round window in the west gable, opposite which in the east tympanum is a relief of St. Jerome in his cave with his lion. The sculptor has so contrived it that a natural brown stain in the stone serves to deepen the gloom in the cave and to fall like a cast shadow on the upper part of the figure, of which the knee comes forward in white as if the light fell upon it. The trick has a curious effect, and a visitor has christened this relief 'il gran cameo di Traü[1].' All round the chapel at the springing level runs a cornice of foliage, which, strange to say, though not so well executed, resembles the cornice above the nave

suppressing local and provincial differences of ritual, as for instance S. Donato at Zara, S. Giovanni Orsini at Traü, and S. Carlo Borromeo at Milan.

[1] Celio Cega repeats the popular belief that this rilievo is older than the destruction of the church by the Saracens in 1125. The Dalmatians are never content with a moderate measure of antiquity. St. Jerome is claimed by them as a fellow-countryman, but they cannot agree as to the place of his birth.

arches at Sebenico (vol. I. p. 390, Fig. 23), and must have been copied from it. Below is a frieze of boys carrying swags, of whom some are excellent, others unequal. The lower and principal stage is covered with flat pilasters, with narrow niches between them slightly sunk in deceptive perspective and finished with shells in their heads, all exactly like the work of Giorgio Orsini at Sebenico, an artist whom Alecxi resembles much in the character of his work. A seat with ornamented riser like that in the other chapel finishes the design at the floor level. The entrance from the portico is surmounted by a sculpture in relief of the baptism of our Lord, treated in a dry and severe manner, but not without merit. Three angels hold the robe, the Almighty Father is seen above, and the dove descends on the figure of Christ.

The cost of the baptistery was 4980 zecchini.

On two piers of the nave, near the entrance, are fixed the doors that once adorned the organ, built in 1485 by Fra Urbino. They were painted by Giovanni Bellini, but have been repainted beyond all recognition.

Prince William, son of the Emperor Baldwin, and betrothed husband of Margaret one of the little princesses whose tomb we saw at Spalato, died at Traü about the same time that Margaret died at Clissa during the horrors of the Tartar invasion. His grave-stone disappeared when the church was reflagged by Bishop Torlono, but the epitaph has been preserved by Lucio, and is printed by Celio

Cega, who thinks the original stone might be discovered under the marble flooring. It is another of the rhyming inscriptions that were fashionable here :—

JACET HOC SUB LAPIDE NOBILIS GULIELM
JACET HEROS INCLITVS OPERIT QUEM TELL — US

NEPOS BELLE TERTII REGIS UNGAROR
MARGARITE GENITUS DOMINE GRECOR — UM

DICTI REGIS FILIE GRECIS DOMINATR
CONSTANTINOPOLEOS SCEPTRIS IMPERATR — IX

ARCENTE DENIQUE BARBARO PERVER
INFINITIS TARTARIS MARTE SUB ADVER — SO

QUARTUM BELLAM PROSEQUENS EJVS CONSOBRIN
AD MARE PERVENERAT USQUE DALMATIN — UM

UBI AD COMERCIA VITAE CELSIOR
MORTIS SOLVIT DEBITUM JVSSU CREATOR — IS

ANNI CHRISTI FLUXERANT MILLE CUM DUCENT
QUADRAGINTA DUO PLUS COMPUTO LEGENT — IS

APRILIS VIGESIMA DIE JAM TRANSACT
QUA GULIELMI SPIRITUS REDDIDIT AD ASTR — A

HEU ACCEDIT INCLITA SPONSA MARGARI
SANCTUM GERENS SPIRITUM MORIBUS ET VI — TA

NAM CUNCTA QUAE MORIENS ITA VIR LEGAV
DISPERGENS PAUPERIBVS PRORSUS EROGAV — IT

QUALIA ECCLESIAE TULIT ORNAMEN
EX IMPERIALIBUS PANNIS VESTIMEN — TA

PATENT INTUENTIBVS LUCEM ET SUPERN
EJVS POSTULENT REQUIEM ETERN — AM

If the reader is not already weary of these poetical effusions he may finish with one more, which though

now much effaced by being walked over may still be seen in the pavement in front of the pulpit. It is the epitaph of Mladin III, of the family of the Counts of Bribir, who died at Traü on May 1, 1348, whither he had come to recover his health. He was son to Giorgio II, whom he had succeeded as Count of Scardona Almissa and Clissa, and he played a considerable part in Dalmatian politics at the time of the first invasion of the kingdom by Lewis the Great[1]. It is interesting to note how the Traürine rhymer evidently regarded this Croat chieftain, whom he enjoins the Slavs to bewail, as a foreigner within the walls of the Latin city where he laid his bones :—

HEU GEMA SPLENDIDA JACET HAC SUB PE \
CUJUS VALOR PERIIT NUNC IN FOSSA TE / TRA

MLADINUS MAGNIFICUS QUI CLISSIE FU \
COMES SUIS SOLA SPES CUR TAM CITO RU / IT

GEORGII COMITIS MEMORIE BO \
NATUS ATQUE DOMINVS ALMESI SCARDO / NE

PROBITATIS TITULUS MORUM ET HONO \
UT FLOS VERNANS DEFUIT VIR TANTI VALO / RIS

CROATORUM CLIPEUS FORTIS ET IPSE E \
INTER OMNES FORTIOR VOLENS SCIRE QUE / RAT

EJUS MORTEM IMPIAM CERNO PRO PECCAT \
SLAVONIE GENTIUM EVENISSE GRAT / IS

[1] Vid. vol. I. pp. 92, 94, 105. On his death his widow Lelca, to prevent Clissa and Scardona falling into the hands of Lewis during the minority of her son, Mladin IV, gave them into the keeping of Stephen Dushan, Emperor of Servia. Vol. I. p. 109.

FLETE SLAVI NOBILEM NEPOTEM BANOR
LARGAM VESTRAM COPIAM PACIS ET HONOR } UM

SI PRECES ALTISSIMO DATE CREATO
QUOD IPSE MISERICORS PARCAT PECCATO } RI

HIC ANNORUM DOMINI SUB CURSUM MILLE
TRECENTENI INSUPER ATQUE QUADRAGE } NI

OCTAVO SUB TEMPORE TRADITUS EST LI
IN CALENDIS MADII MENSIS DIE PRI } MO

CUM BONA SUI MEMORIA MORS IPSUM VORAV
DEO REDDENS ANIMUM HIC MOX RESPIRAV } IT

From the portico a winding stair leads to the flat roof above it, through which the vault of the central bay protrudes with a hump. At the back of the terrace rises the west gable of the nave with its rose window. This is evidently of a date posterior to the main fabric of the nave and aisle, the tracery of the rose being weak and straggling; and the cornice is different on the two rakes of the gable, that of the north half being flatter than the other, and formed of plain intersecting semicircles with a string above carved into good foliage, while that of the south has round arches trefoil-cusped. The gable has three coats of arms, of which one with a pastoral staff is that of Bishop Nicolò Casotti[1] (1362–1371), and that

[1] The arms of Casotti given by Galvani, 'Il rè d' armi di Sebenico,' pl. v, and by Rosenfeld (*Wappenbuch des Königreichs Dalmatiens*), are without the indented border of this coat, and the eagle and the bends are reversed. He gives among his 'stemmi ignoti,' plate xix. No. 51, a coat more closely resembling this, but also reversed. It is remarkable that the arms of Hungary, if they are those of Hungary, are also reversed here. Traü was subject to Hungary from 1357 till 1420.

in the middle seems to be the coats of Hungary and Anjou impaled as on the ark of S. Simeone at Zara (vid. Plate X), except that here the French coat is on the dexter side. I have been unable to identify the third coat, a griffin (?) rampant with a star.

From the terrace we entered the first stage of the campanile, which is of excellent Gothic work with good details. The two-light windows have octagonal shafts dividing the lights, each face of the shaft being very slightly concave in order to give brilliancy to the edge; and the tracery in the head is correctly ramified on the principle of Gothic bar-tracery. On the inside of one of the springers (Fig. 50) is a shield bearing an inscription with the date 1422, and the names of the architects Matteo and Stefano.

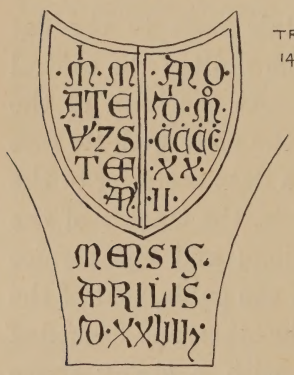


Fig. 50.

This date is two years after the bombardment of the city by Pietro Loredano in 1420, at which time the campanile was already standing, and received considerable injury from the missiles of the besiegers. Farlati has published the text of a contract for the repair of the church, and especially the campanile, in 1421, between the 'operarius' of the church and one Matteo Goycovich, *lapicida, habitator ad praesens civit. Tragur*, who is no doubt the Magister Mateus who inscribed his name on the tower (Fig. 50) in the

following year when he had completed his work[1]. I am not aware of any documentary evidence as to the date of the original construction of the campanile; but being in a perfectly developed Gothic style, and in a country where round-arched architecture outlived the fourteenth century, it cannot be much older than the bombardment, and was very probably designed by the same Matteo who afterwards repaired it. The repairs described in his contract are too unimportant to have justified him in inscribing his name on the tower, and we hear nothing in that contract of his colleague Stefano who is joined with him in the inscription.

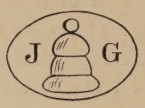
The stage above this is in the same style, and probably by the same artists; it has traceried windows on all four sides, those to the east and west having a reticulation of quatrefoils in the heads, and those to north and south tracery-work of cusped

[1] Farlati, iv. p. 398. The specification requires Matteo . . . 'ornare et aptare omnes et singulos lapides qui sunt fracti ad campanile pred. eccl. cath. tam occasione bombardarum quam per alium modum . . . fabricare et ornare duas columnas integras et ipsas ponere ornate et bene ad ipsum campanile ad locum ubi nunc sunt due columne fracte . . . aptare totam listam pred. campanilis que est versus plateam Trag. . . . prout stabat alia lista antequam esset fracta, ac etiam ipsam listam salizare bene et diligenter inter ipsum Campanile et ipsam listam . . . aptare ornare et facere ac ponere omnes cruces et rotas que sunt fractae ad ipsum campanile et que deficiunt, ac aptare omnes angulos et fracturas, etc. Item promisit d. mag. Mat. aptare versus austrum omnes fracturas et scissuras . . . incipiendo per viam austri a rota ips. eccl. que est versus levantem et eundo versus ponentem . . . etiam aptare rotam ips. eccl. que est fracta et que est versus levantem in d. ecclesia et omnes murellos et fenestras ipsius eccl. et listas que sunt fracte ex latere Austri.' The contract money was Lib. 604 parv.

circles. The final stage with the spire above it is of inferior work, with Gothic and renaissance details mixed together, and belongs to the sixteenth century, the date of its completion being 1598.

Four bells hang in the campanile, three of which were recast, as their inscriptions imply, during the episcopate of Giuseppe Caccia, 1731–38, the treble bell being CANCIANI VENETI FUSORIS OPVS, the next OPVS BARTHOLAMEI DIPOLI, and the third OPVS PAULI DEPOLIS VENETI. The fourth or tenor is a large sonorous bell, to the casting of which it is said the noble ladies of Traü brought their jewelry and earrings, and cast them into the smelting-pot. It bears a figure of S. Lorenzo and this inscription :—

CHRISTUS REGNAT · CHRISTUS IMPERAT · CHRISTUS VINCIT
L AN 1629 AV MOY D APRIL
PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU SOMME
EST FAICTE PAR LES MAIИ DE
IEAN GAILLARD VИ LORRAIИ

1 6  2 9

Referring to the history of the city and cathedral, it should be observed that the body of the church was erected while Traü was under the over-rule and protection of Hungary, and this throws light on some peculiarities in the architecture. Though in many respects the influence of Italian art is noticeable, in others there is a decided resemblance to transalpine

romanesque, and in a following chapter I shall trace many points of resemblance between this church and others in Hungary and Carinthia.

The Loggia, now unhappily in ruins, which faces the south flank of the duomo from the opposite side of the piazza, is one of the most remarkable examples of that class of building in Dalmatia. It is a work of various dates and a compound of many styles. Two sides are open with columns supporting a

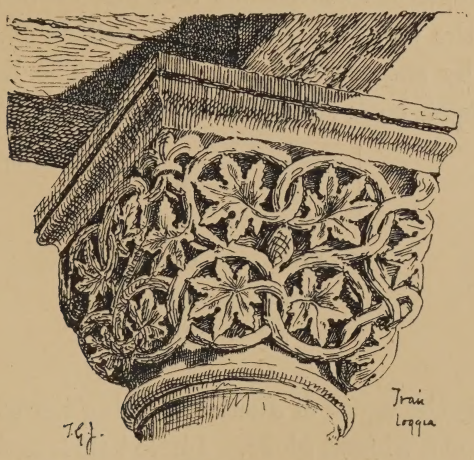


Fig. 51.

horizontal architrave; the back is formed by the outer wall of the desecrated church of S. Barbara, and the east end by the Torre dell' Orologio. One of the capitals is an antique Roman one with the olive-leaf raffling, another at the angle of the two open sides is of richly undercut Byzantine work with vine leaves (Fig. 51); two others are of Byzantine

character, and the remaining two are of later work. Some of the columns are antiques; the angle one being of cipollino, on which in later times has been worked a shield bearing the arms of Loredano surmounted by a Gothic pediment. The roof has fallen in, and the pavement is broken and uneven and overgrown with weeds, but the old stone table of the judges still stands on a dais at the east end, and the wall behind is richly sculptured with a large lion of St. Mark between S. Giov. Orsini and S. Lorenzo, while numerous scutcheons and inscriptions around record the various repairs and embellishments of the loggia by successive functionaries. The lion bears on his open book the appropriate legend,

INIV	MEN
STI	IMPI
PUNI	ORVM
ENTVR	PERI
ET SE	BIT ✠

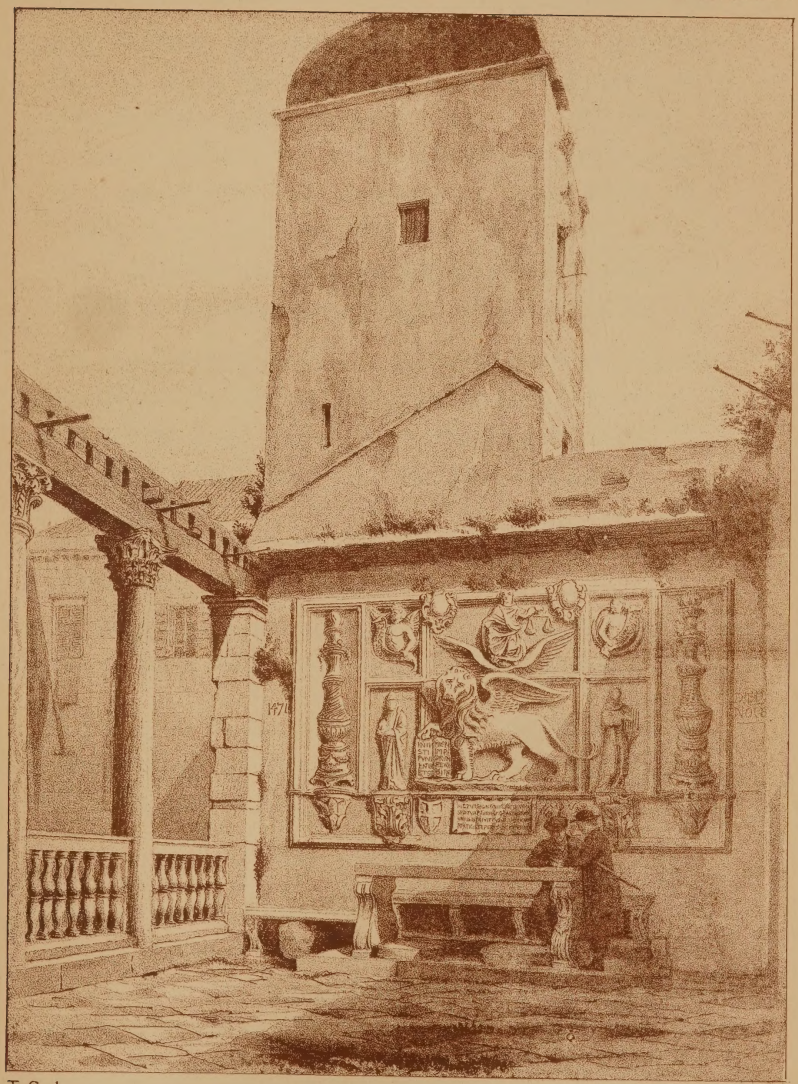
Above is the figure of Justice, holding her scales and seated on a winged globe. Little half-length figures emerging from circles in the compartments right and left of her bear scrolls with the following legends :—

The dexter figure.

TV REGINA POLOS
TOTVM MODRARIS ET ORBEM

The sinister figure.

P TE IVRA VIGENT
P TE SVA QUISQ REPORTAT



T.G.J.

The Loggia

INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & Cº LONDON.

The figure of S. Giov. Orsini holds a model of the city of Traü, and that of S. Lorenzo his gridiron. Beyond them on each side is a candelabrum, and outside these again the date 1471 · DIE · V · NOV.

On a scroll below the lion is the following between two scutcheons, one bearing a cross with the initials G · P and the date M · D · XIII, and the other which is an oval shield quarterly[1] being displayed on the breast of an eagle with the initials A·L.

HIC TVA SIGNA NITENT LANDO LVDOVICE COLORE
SED TVA PLVS VIRTVS VNDIQVE LAVDE NITET
VNIVS ISTA FVIT IVSSV FABRICATA TVORVM
PORTICVS ET PER TE SIC RENOVATA FVIT.

Below this again on the lowest moulding of the panelling is this :—

SÆPIVS PRÆTORVM STVDIO PORTICVS HÆC ILLVSTRATA FVIT : VERVM AMBROSII CORNELII CVRA LONGE ALIIS ILLVSTRIOREM REDDIDIT · M · DCVI ·

The initials of the same Venetian count Ambrogio Corner occur on the top moulding above the head of the figure of Justice,

A · C · PRO AEQVITATE · P · P ·

from which it seems probable that the loggia was largely restored in his time, though the greater part of the sculpture that covers this end of the chamber belongs rather to the earlier date 1471 when the

[1] The bearings of the Venetian family of Lando are argent and sable quarterly, vid. Galvani, Il rè d' armi, plate xxi. There was a doge of this family, Pietro Lando, 1539–45.

loggia was erected, or perhaps 1513 when it was restored, as recorded in the foregoing inscription, by one of the family of Lando, whose arms also occur on the base of the right hand candelabrum. The judicial seat and table and the balustrading between the columns belong no doubt to the restoration by Corner in 1606. On the south wall of the loggia, facing north, is the following with a shield bearing an annulet on a plain field :—

IN MEMORIA ÆTERNA ERIT IVSTVS
ET
LINGVA DOLOSA NON NOCEBIT EI
ALOY BARBARO ZACHARIAE
PATRI SIGNVM DECORAVIT

Z B
M · D · XXXVII

On the same wall below this inscription is the following with a plain shield quarterly :—

SI HOMINIBVS PLACEREM CHRISTI SERVVS NON ESSEM.

The oldest church in Traü of which any traces remain was that of *S. Maria in Piazza*, which dated perhaps from the eighth century. It was round, and had a portico which opened upon the loggia, and which was afterwards turned into the church of S. Sebastiano, and still more recently raised and converted into the clock-tower[1]. The vault of S. Maria was only

[1] Vid. Lucio, Mem., p. 493; Celio Cega.

destroyed as lately as January, 1851. I saw and talked with the person who owned and destroyed it, and he described the cupola as quite perfect up to the time of its demolition.

At the back of the loggia is the interesting little Byzantine church of *S. Martino* or *S. Barbara*, which it is said is first mentioned in 1184, though it is probably a good deal older than that date. It is very narrow and lofty, with nave and narrow aisles, barrel-vaulting with underlying ribs, and a square chancel covered by a semidome on squinches. This church, which is now converted into a lumber-room or storehouse, is one of the most interesting of its class in Dalmatia, and deserves to be taken better care of[1].

S. Nicolò is a Benedictine nunnery founded in 1064 by Giovanni Orsini for ladies of noble descent, and it is still occupied by nuns of that order. Slight traces only remain of its original architecture. There is a pretty little cloistered court with capitals of a rudely Corinthianizing type which are early, but the rest of the building has windows of Venetian and still later work.

S. Domenico was built in the fourteenth century by Bitcula, sister of Agostino Casotti, a native of Traü, who was successively bishop of Zagabria (Agram) and Lucera in Apulia, and was canonized by Pope John XXII (1313–1334). Over the door is a rude sculpture of the Virgin and Child with figures of Agostino and his sister Bitcula, and an inscription

[1] A plan and sections are given by Eitelberger, Dalm. pl. xix.

DnA BITCVLA · SOROR · HS · SCI · AVGVSTINI, which proves the church to be later than 1323 when Agostino died[1]. The name of the artist is also recorded: MAISTE NICOLAI DE TE DITO CERVO D VENECIA FECIT HOC OPVS.

The church of *S. Giovanni Battista*, which is now roofless though otherwise well preserved, is by far the most interesting church after the duomo. In its arcaded cornices, sunk dentil courses, and chain-mail ornaments it corresponds with the details of the duomo so closely that there can be little doubt of its being coeval with it. It has a bell-cot for three bells, approached by an external staircase, and in the interior are some interesting details. The church was attached to a Benedictine abbey, and has the peculiarity of a square east end.

Although for the most part the city walls have been thrown down and cleared away there are some very striking remains of them at the northern end, towards the open sea. The grand Castel Camerlengo of 1424 forms an imposing feature in the view of the city when approached by sea from Sebenico (vid. Fig. 45), and near it remains one of the city gates, the Porta Marina, surmounted as usual by St. Mark's lion, but instead of displaying the page PAX TIBI MARCE, &c. the book is shut, the republic being at war when the gate was built in 1454.

[1] Celio Cega says the church was founded in 1300; Eitelberger in 1362–72. I did not study this church myself for want of time, and I take the inscriptions from those authors, who however quote them differently.

The Palazzo Comunale has in the cortile an effective outside staircase springing from brackets and arches, and in every part of the town beautiful doorways and windows of Venetian architecture abound. On the west side of the piazza is the ancient palace of the Cippico family with windows and doors of Venetian Gothic, which are however on the verge of melting into the renaissance style, being mixed with flat fluted niches in sham perspective like the work of Giorgio Orsini at Sebenico, or that of Alecxi of Durazzo in the duomo here. The same mixture of styles is observable in the fine palace of Count Fanfogna-Garagnin, the podestà of Traü, to whom and to whose family we owe a debt of gratitude for many kindnesses during our visits to Traü, and much assistance in my researches into the local antiquities.

In the interior of the Cippico palace is a cortile with handsome details, and the family crest, a ramping lion, on the wall between each pair of arches[1]. The court is much reduced in size, and in a modern fence wall is built up a tablet brought from some other part of the building, which records its erection in 1457 :—

CORIOLANVS · CIPCVS
P · F · HEC STATVENCA
CVRAVIT · SIBI · ET · CVI · CEVS
CECERIT · M · CCCCLVII

[1] The arms of Cippico are per pale indented gules and or.

Coriolano Cippico is one of her sons of whom Traü is justly proud. He was born in 1425, and studied at Venice and Padua. He not only served with distinction in the Venetian service against the Turks, but wrote the history of the campaign of Pietro Mocenigo in a style which made him no less famous as an author than he was already as a soldier[1]. His book has run through several editions, and Sabellico the Venetian historian, his friend and contemporary, praises him as the most illustrious Dalmatian of his time. Castelvecchio, the first of the line of fortified posts erected by the Traürini along the Riviera as a barrier against the Turks, was built by Coriolano, and the neighbouring fortress of Castelnuovo by his nephew Paolo Antonio. In 1480 his house took fire and his second wife was burned to death. His own death took place in 1495. Several of his sons attained eminence in the church ; Alvise was bishop of Famagosta and died in the same year as his father ; Giovanni became archbishop of Zara in 1504, but died at Rome the following year, whence his corpse was brought to Traü for burial in 1578 ; and another son, Girolamo, was archdeacon of Spalato. The family became extinct in 1820[2].

A still greater interest attaches to the palace of the family of Lucio, once the residence of Giovanni Lucio, the father of Dalmatian history, whose

[1] His book, *De Bello Asiatico*, was published at Venice in 1477, and reprinted at Basle in 1544 and 1556; an Italian translation was published at Venice in 1570 and re-edited in 1796.

[2] Vid. Annuario Dalmatico, 1884.

splendid work, De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae, will be more valued the more it is studied, as much for the valuable and original records on which the narrative is based, and which form a large part of the text, as for the sound critical judgment which the author has shewn in arriving at his conclusions. He was born at Traü of an ancient and noble family in 1614, and studied at Rome, where he made the acquaintance of many learned men, and among others of Ughelli, the author of the Italia Sacra, who advised him to devote himself to the history of his country. On his return home he pursued his researches with great pains in the archives and libraries of Dalmatia in order to collect materials for his work. But Paolo Andreis, of a patrician family at feud with that of Lucio, and himself engaged on a rival historical work, denounced him to Contarini the provveditore generale of Dalmatia, accusing him of searching the archives to prove that the Venetian government had violated the ancient constitutions of the Dalmatian cities. Contarini happened to visit Traü, and Lucio's palace was selected as his place of abode. His attempt to excuse himself from receiving the visit of the provveditore on account of the illness of his sister was misrepresented by the enmity of Andreis, and Lucio was arrested, confined among the galley-slaves, and only saved from the bastinado by the intervention of the bishop. After his release and the expiry of Contarini's government Lucio retired to Rome, where he was encouraged by Cardinal Basadona to

continue his work. He travelled through Italy Germany the Low Countries and France, and finally fixed his residence at Rome, where he died on Oct. 6, 1684[1].

The palace of Lucio is a fine building of renaissance architecture, with handsome doorways and windows facing inwards towards the cortile, and a magnificent cistern or pozzo, but the sea-front has been modernized. The arms of the family, quarterly or and gules, appear in several parts of the building.

Not far off is the palace of the rival and hostile family Andreis, in which may be seen a good panelled ceiling of simple but effective design.

These palaces are no longer inhabited by the original families, but are fallen into decay and divided into several smaller tenements. Traü can however still boast that she possesses representatives of her ancient Roman stock; the old Roman strain is said to have been maintained there with more purity than elsewhere in Dalmatia, and the Lucian Celian and Statilian families trace their descent from the patrician houses of the Empire.

[1] Lucio's published works are—

(1) De regno Croatiae et Dalmatiae, lib. vi, a gentis origine ad annum 1480; Amstelod. 1666 and 1668; Frankfort, 1666; Vienna, 1758. To the edition of 1668 are appended the writings of the oldest Dalmatian historians, to which I have made constant reference in the general history at the beginning of this book.

(2) Memorie istoriche di Tragurio ora detto Traü, lib. vi. Venezia, 1673, in 4°.

(3) Do. 1674, with new title-page, 'Istoria di Dalmatia ed in particolare delle città di Traü, Spalato, e Sebenico.

(4) Inscriptiones Dalmaticae, &c. . . . (publ. in Graevius Thes.).

The city with an extensive suburb on the island of Bua is said to contain more than 3000 inhabitants. The silversmiths' work that we saw there is superior to most in Dalmatia, for though it may not have the beautiful finish of the best work of the kind produced at Ragusa it is extremely solid and well made, and more varied in design than is usual elsewhere. The women are employed in weaving a coarse cloth or '*rascia*,' which is dyed dark blue, and serves for the trousers and waistcoats of the men and the petticoats of the women throughout Dalmatia. It is woven in hand-looms in the cottages, and the introduction of this industry, which is only recent, has done a great deal to alleviate the poverty of the humbler citizens.

The climate of Traü is remarkably mild, and here for the first time in our journey southwards we saw the date palm flourishing in the gardens, though I believe it has never been known to ripen its fruit. But in spite of her natural advantages Traü, like the majority of Dalmatian towns, has a reputation for malaria; and though fever is comparatively rare there strangers would do well to observe the same precautions against exposure to the air at nightfall that are necessary at Rome. The causes of malaria are obvious enough, for there is an unwholesome muddy deposit in the bay to the north, and in the canal next the mainland, which becomes annually more dangerous to the health of the city. The task of dredging it away is beyond the means of the citizens, and appeals to the govern-

ment for assistance have hitherto met with no attention.

Traü is now (1885) one of the few places in Dalmatia where the Latin party still has the upper hand. The government want a pretext for dissolving the municipality in order to introduce a Croat municipal body in its place, as they did at Spalato. On a public occasion just before we were last there the Traürini cried '*Evviva la coltura Latina*,' which was misrepresented to the authorities as a cry for Italian annexation, and it was with difficulty that the government was induced to listen to the truth, and the threatened suspension of the municipality averted.

We may take leave of Traü with the description of its people given by Farlati :—'The Traürini are endowed with susceptibility for every virtue; they are lovers of equity and justice, and haters of fraud and deceit; they are skilful, industrious, very diligent in their own affairs, liberal, benign, polite and disposed to religion and piety; and they are not less ready-witted in all the sciences than endued with prudence and capacity for managing affairs of importance.'

CHAPTER XIV.

On the influence of Hungary upon the Architecture of Dalmatia.

In the preceding account of Dalmatian architecture (Vol. I. chap. ii) I have noticed the traces borne by several Dalmatian buildings of the influence of the northern or transalpine styles of mediæval art, which is probably to be explained by the connection of the country with Hungary. In no Dalmatian building is this feeling more perceptible than in the cathedral of Traü, which was built during the long period of Hungarian rule over the cities between the Kerka and the Narenta, which lasted with little interruption throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. With the Hungarian conquest the last thread that bound Dalmatia to the Byzantine Empire was snapped; Dalmatian art took a fresh departure, especially in those cities which were most constantly subject to Hungarian rule; its direction veered round from east to west, from Byzantine to romanesque, and in a great measure to that form of romanesque which prevailed north of the Alps rather than that of Italy.

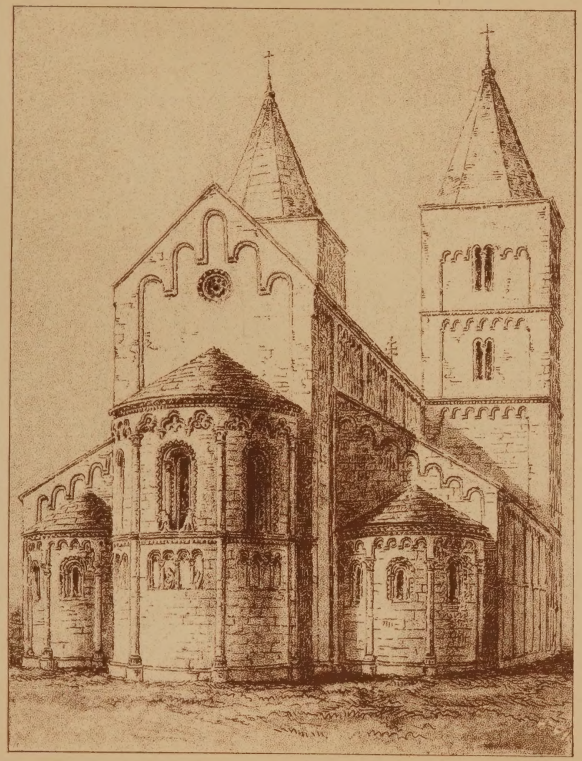
Hungarian architecture is divided by Professor

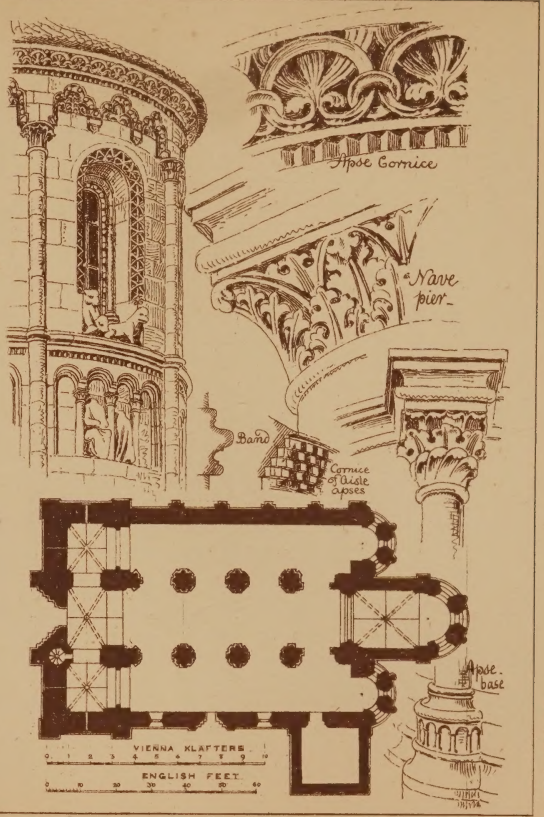
Eitelberger[1] into two periods, separated by the great Tartar invasion of 1241; the first romanesque, the second Gothic. In both periods the Hungarians borrowed their art and artists from other countries; they were still an uncultured people in the thirteenth century, and even in the fourteenth the Italians regarded them as barbarians; and though ambitious of possessing fine buildings they seem to have been dependent on foreigners for the realization of their desires. Stephen, the king who christianized Hungary in 1000, engaged Greeks and other foreigners at high wages to build his churches at Buda and Alba regalis, and the architecture of Hungary down to the Tartar invasion was governed by the example of the great romanesque churches of Austria and Carinthia just across the frontier. Of this kind of Hungarian art very few examples have survived the awful visitation of the Mongols, who reduced the country to a wilderness.

A period of great rebuilding followed the reestablishment of peace and order, but the artists were still, as heretofore, foreigners from western Europe, invited not only from Germany but also from France, where by this time Gothic architecture was fully developed. Villars de Honnecourt[2] and his collaborateurs brought with them the new style, and the

[1] Hungarian architecture has perhaps been too little studied. There is an essay on its earlier styles by Professor Eitelberger, with illustrations, in the Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates, to which I am much indebted.

[2] Vid. supra, vol. I. chap. ii. p. 216.





T.G.J.

East end.

"INK-PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON.

architecture of Hungary after the middle of the thirteenth century was Gothic.

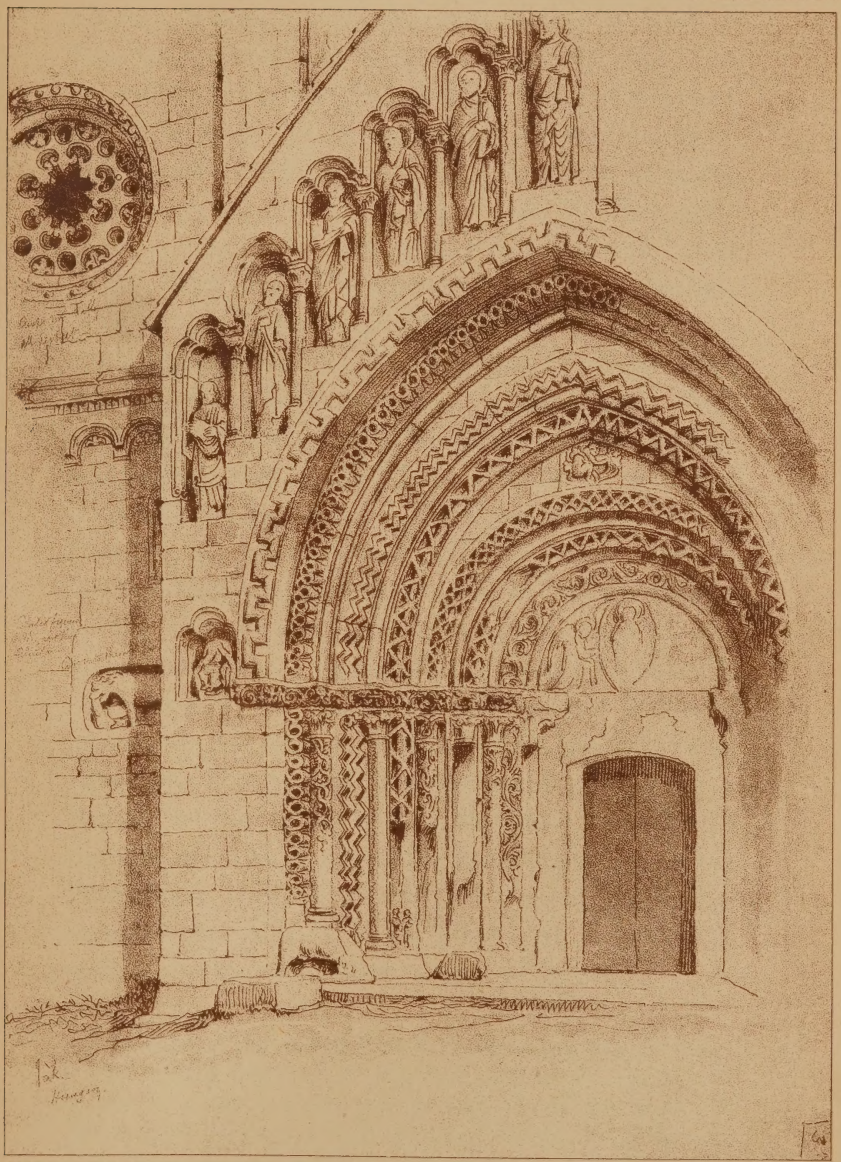
The duomo of Traü was begun early in the thirteenth century, and though at the time of the Tartar invasion it was still roofless, the walls and principal architectural details were finished and the style settled. It is then to the earlier or romanesque period of art in Hungary and those countries from which Hungarian art was borrowed that the church of Traü is related, and it is surprising how close the relationship is. The plain square piers and simple arches of the nave arcades, and the narrow rounded slits of windows at Traü have their prototypes in the nave of the great cathedral of Gurk in Carinthia; the arcaded eaves cornices, the sunk dentil courses, and other ornaments in the Dalmatian church are the same that occur in several northern examples; and Gurk even affords a parallel to the curious plan adopted at Traü, and in later times at Cattaro, of placing the western towers with a porch altogether in front of the west end of the church, instead of including the towers within the nave aisles.

But the church in Hungary which bears the closest resemblance to the duomo of Traü is that of Ják, of which I give some illustrations[1]. Ják is about nine miles from the little town of Steinamanger, in Magyar Szombathely, on the line between Vienna and

[1] In Plate XXV I have taken the ground plan and the view of the east end from plates in the *Mittel: Kunst*, etc. The rest is from my own sketches.

Agram. It is a short lofty church with two western towers and brick spires standing on a low ridge of hills which breaks the monotony of an extensive plain. It is now a parish church, but was attached originally to a Benedictine abbey of which no traces remain. In style it belongs to the period of transition from round to pointed architecture, which in Hungary as in Germany took place later than in France and England. Although the west doorway (Plate XXVI) abounds in interlaced and knotted romanesque ornaments intertwined with grotesque beasts and birds, and with dentils zigzags frets and other conventional ornaments that resemble those in the nave of St. David's cathedral, still among all this are capitals *à crochet* in the style of thirteenth century French Gothic. The building resembles the chapel of St. Joseph at Glastonbury where capitals *à crochet* carry arches with zigzags, and other evidences of an archaic taste are perceptible which make the work look older than it is. At Ják round and pointed arches are used indiscriminately; even in the west door a round arch is enclosed within a pointed one, and that within one more pointed still (Plate XXVI), while above is an ascending series of trefoil headed niches which are thoroughly Gothic, and rather French in character. A similar arrangement, but in a later style, occurs in the cathedral at Agram.

The exterior of the east end, with the three round apses surmounted by a lofty gabled wall raised so much above them as to allow space for a circular



T.G.J.

West Doorway.

"INK-PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON

window, bears so striking a resemblance to that of Traü (compare Plates XXIII and XXV), that it is impossible not to see the influence of the same school of architects in the two examples. Other points of correspondence are not wanting. The blank arcading of the stylobate or seat at Traü (Plate XXI) is to be found on the bases of the columns outside the apse at Ják (Plate XXV), and the flat exterior buttresses, the billet mouldings, the sunk dentils, the arched cornices, the attached columns outside the apses of the one church are to be found also in the other. Both churches are extremely lofty in proportion to their length, their ground plans are not dissimilar, and both were to have had a pair of western towers, though Traü has but one, while Ják has both towers complete. In other respects the church at Ják is very far inferior to her Dalmatian cousin; the architecture of the interior is in many respects clumsy and ill-contrived, and unworthy of the excellent sculpture bestowed upon it. One cannot but think that the fabric was raised by Hungarians, and the carving done by a French or German artist. The date is probably towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and, if Eitelberger is right in fixing it before the Tartar invasion, this church would have been in process of erection at the same time as that of Traü[1].

[1] In front of the church of Ják, a few paces distant, stands a very curious baptistery of the same date as the church. It consists of a square surrounded by four semicircular apses, and has an early doorway with a lamb and flag in the tympanum. The church was much damaged by the Turks in their retreat from

Although there is no direct evidence of the employment of architects from beyond the Alps in Dalmatia at so early a period, instances have been quoted in the preceding account[1] of their being invited into that country at a later date, and Radovan the architect of the church at Traü may possibly have received his training in Austria or Carinthia, the countries from which the Hungarians at that time principally borrowed their art and artists.

At Ragusa Curzola and elsewhere in Dalmatia we shall have occasion to observe traces of northern Gothic in work of a later period than the thirteenth century. In a former chapter I have noticed the fact that the guilds of the building trades frequently invited masters from Hungary and Austria[2].

the siege of Güns, and the clumsiness of its interior architecture is partially due to bungling restoration at various periods.

[1] Vid. supra, vol. I. pp. 205, 216.

[2] Vid. vol. I. chap. ii. p. 205.

CHAPTER XV.

Almissa and Poglizza.

It is uncertain whether Almissa represents an ancient town of Roman times or not. No mention of it occurs among the towns of Pagania in the account of Porphyrogenitus, and we hear nothing of it during the expedition of Pietro Orseolo against the Narentines, at which time it must either have been uninhabited, or of small account. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, we find Almissa the capital of the Croatian duchy of Chelmo or Chlum which had risen on the ruins of Narentine greatness, and in 1207 Andrew II of Hungary, observing that Almissa was conveniently situated either for commanding the islands or for infesting the seas[1], granted the place a charter of privileges like those of the Dalmatian cities, and made it a city. The sagacity of the king had not been at fault; Almissa speedily became a nest of piracy and the terror of the trading population of Dalmatia. Even before this time the people of

[1] Lucio, de Regno, iv. c. iv. p. 160: 'Cujus caput Almisum Andream uti locum opportunum ad proximarum insularum dominium retinendum et ad maris infestationem exercendam eligisse conjici potest.'

Cattaro had found it necessary to make terms with the counts of Almissa, and in 1167 Count Nicolò covenanted with the Cattarines that their commerce should pass unimpeded by him or his descendants to the ninth generation[1]. At the beginning of the thirteenth century their attacks on Venetian merchantmen were encouraged by the kings of Hungary, unable at the moment to engage in open hostilities with the Republic, and their ranks were swelled by outlaws and political refugees of whom at that time of internal disturbances in the cities of Dalmatia there was no lack. Unassailable by land on account of the barrier of mountains at their back, and protected by the intricacy of the channel from attack by sea, the Almissan corsairs drove a splendid trade, and robbed every passer by, and even the pilgrims on their way to the holy land. In 1217 the sub-deacon Aconcio united Traü Spalato and Sebenico in a league against the Almissans, who were obliged to burn their fleet and swear to keep the peace; but in 1269 they were as troublesome as ever, and were punished by Gargano, podestà of Spalato, who took and imprisoned Osor one of the sons of the Almissan count Malduco Cacich[2]; and again in 1277 the Venetians after some trouble captured the 'borgo' and burned it, and took the islands of Lesina and Brazza away from the rule of the count[3]. But the Almissans were protected by the Croatian counts of Bribir, who shared in

[1] Gelcich, Cattaro, p. 56.

[2] Vid. General History, vol. I. p. 64. [3] Ibid. p. 80.

their plunder; and it was not till 1292 that the townsmen of Spalato and Traü, supported by the Venetians, were able to compel George, count of the maritime cities and younger brother of the Ban Mladin II, to engage that the Almissan piracies should cease. The contract, however, was not observed, for in 1315 a kind of charter was granted by count George to the Almissans regulating the division of the spoil taken by their corsairs[1]; and on the downfall of the Ban Mladin II in 1322 Almissa was sacked and burned by the Traürini, while Scardona, another hotbed of piracy, was treated similarly by the Sebenzani, and Almissa was held by the Spalatini till 1325. Once more, in 1363, after the establishment of Hungarian rule throughout Dalmatia by Lewis the Great, the Almissans renewed their piracies, but the counts of Bribir were no longer there to protect them, and they were speedily reduced to order by the Ban. In subsequent times Almissa, with the Craina or sea-coast from the Cettina to the Narenta, formed part of the duchy of S. Saba or Herzegovina, and in 1444 Venice induced the Almissans and their neighbours and allies the Poglizzans to submit to the Republic, engaging that they should continue to enjoy all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by them under the kings of Hungary.

Poglizza or Poljica is the name of the mountainous district embraced by the wide sweep of the river Cettina from Almissa to Sign, including the fast-

[1] Vid. General History, vol. I. pp. 80 and 87.

nesses of M. Mossor, and the coast between the river Cettina at Almissa and the little river Xernovizza which runs into the sea near Stobrez. This highland district was for many centuries the seat of a rustic republic, which, under the protection first of Hungary and afterwards of Venice, preserved its liberty and independence till the year 1807. In 1806 the population, according to an 'information' of Vincenzo Dandolo, amounted to 6566, exclusive of those Poglizzani who were domiciled in other parts of Dalmatia[1]. They had no town, but lived in twelve or more scattered villages, each governed by a '*knes*,' or '*kniaz*,' or count, over whom was the '*veliki kniaz*' or great count, the head of the republic. The population consisted of three orders or ranks; the highest, composed of twenty families, claimed Hungarian descent; the next, of a larger number who were descended from the Bosnian nobility, was divided into three tribes, the Tisimiri Kresimiri and Elemikiani, from each of which one of the three judges was chosen; and the third class was composed of the commonalty of peasants. Below the commonalty or popolani was a large body of villeins or '*kmetics*,' who had no civic rights and were little above the condition of serfs, and below them again was a servile class, the members of which counted as mere chattels. The constitution was aristocratical, and the two classes of nobles possessed many privileges, and were subject to milder penalties than

[1] Annuario Dalmatico, 1885. Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 195, says 4000. Fortis says 15,000, which is obviously excessive.

the commonalty. Annually on St. George's day the *véliki sbor* or great council assembled in the open air at Gatta to elect the magistracy for the year. The *véliki kniaz*, who was always chosen from one of the Hungarian families, was elected by the lesser counts, and the lesser counts in their turn were elected from among the Bosnian nobles by the commonalty. '*It happens but seldom*,' says Fortis, who visited the Polizzani in the last century, '*that the great count is chosen without violence, because there is generally more than one candidate. In that case after having canvassed the votes underhand, one of the boldest partizans lays hold of the box containing the privileges of the community, which is the deposite annually committed to the care of the great count; he runs with the box toward the house of him for whom he is engaged, and every member of the diet has a right to pursue him with stones knives and firearms, and may make use of their right to its full extent. If the man takes his measures well, and gets safe to the house proposed with the box, the great count is duly elected, and none dares make further opposition.*'

On rare occasions the veliki kniaz was chosen from among the Bosnian order, but it was generally considered unlucky for the office to be held by any but a Hungarian. It was remarked that the last count of Poglizza, in whose term of office the republic was destroyed, was of the Bosnian order.

Their laws were primitive; suits about land were decided on the spot in question by a judge seated

on the ground with his cloak spread under him, and the decision given before he rose. A murderer was punished by being eaten out of house and home by the count of the village, who was followed by the great count, each with his retinue, who established themselves in his house and lived at free quarters as long as anything was left. Murders of peculiar atrocity were punished by fine, and torture and trial by ordeal were employed to obtain evidence. Their peculiar reverence for S. Vito is traced by Fortis to the ancient worship of the Slavonic deity Vid[1], and he mentions a wood which still went by the name of another heathen deity Virun. He found them suspicious of strangers, especially of one who could read, but, when their suspicions were allayed, humane hospitable and friendly, and he speaks with admiration of their strength, sobriety, and fine *physique*[2].

This interesting little state, whose liberties had been respected by Hungarian Venetian and Turk, was crushed by Napoleon the great *liberator* of modern times. In 1807, when the Russians and French were engaged in hostilities, the Poglizzani sided with the former, and after their small contingent had been forced to take refuge on the Russian fleet the French marched into Poglizza pillaging the houses and massacring every living

[1] Vid. supra, vol. I. chap. i. p. 21.

[2] A detailed account of the history and political constitution of the Republic of Poglizza will be found in the Annuario Dalmatico for 1885. Zara.

soul who could not escape; the great and lesser counts and some of the other officials were condemned to be shot whenever they could be found, their goods were confiscated, and their houses razed to the ground, and the republic of Poglizza ceased to exist [1].

Almissa is within easy reach of Spalato either by land or sea, but the small coasting steamers that touch there on their way to Metcovich by the Canale della Narenta are timed to start at an inconveniently early hour in the morning, and have a still more inconvenient way of sometimes not starting for several hours after their time. We made our visit therefore by land, and setting off early had plenty of time to spend at Almissa, and were able to get back in good time to Spalato. The distance is about sixteen or seventeen English miles, and the road is good.

After leaving Spalato the road mounts steadily for several miles, and when the crest is surmounted the view forwards into the country of Poglizza is excessively wild and grand, with the barren heights of Mossor to the left, and several deep valleys in the folds of lesser ridges intervening between the mountain and the sea. The road descends sharply to the marshy plain through which the little river Xernovizza finds its way to the sea, the level arena of a vast natural amphitheatre of mountains, studded with pinnacles of rock. Herds of large horned

[1] The name of the last count was Andrea Ciovich: he had the good fortune to escape to Russia. Sir G. Wilkinson, ii. p. 199.

cattle were dotted about the swampy delta, and among the tall reed beds that lined the river banks. The little village of Stobrez, which picturesquely occupied a rocky peninsula that jutted forward into the sea from the promontory to our right, represents the ancient Greek colony of Epetium, like Traü an offshoot of the colony at Issa, and afterwards a Roman town, where it is said some traces of ancient walls and drains are to be seen[1]. Crossing the Xernovizza by a bridge, which was the scene of the final defeat of the unhappy Poglizzani in 1807, our road skirted the sea, rising and descending over the low undulations of the foreshore, which consists of deep alluvial deposits washed down from the mountains and extending far out under the shallow sea. In climate and soil this region has few rivals in Dalmatia; figs and olives flourish close down to the shore, and the air is fragrant with the scent of the stone-pines which are here allowed to grow to an unusual size. Poglizza is the true home of the marasca cherry from which the maraschino liqueur is made. It is a small black fruit which grows wild, and has hitherto defied all attempts to domesticate it in other parts of the province.

In the wall of a farm house near Stobrez we saw a Roman tablet with an inscription, and in the churchyard wall of S. Martino in Postrana, a hamlet a few miles farther on, are two large fragments of a Roman mortuary inscription within an enriched border, broken and imperfect, and built

[1] Fortis.

into the wall upside down. I had no time to copy it, and am indebted to Professor Bulić of Spalato for this transcript which he tells me is more correct than that published in the Corpus Inscript. Lat.[1].

D M

L · ARTORI //////// STVS · > · ĖG
III · GALĻCAE · IƮM ////// G · VI · FERRA
TAE · ƮM · > · LEG · II · AN ///// ƮM · > · ĖG · V · MA
C · IƮM · P · P · EIVSDEM ///// PRAEPOSITO
CLASSIS · MISENATIVM //// ÆF · LEG · VI ·
VICTRICIS · DVCI LEG · C //// M · BRITANNICI
MIARVM · ÆDVERSVS · ARM /////S · PROC · CENE
NARIO · PROVINCIAE LI ///// GLADI VI
VVS · IPSE · SIBI · Ƭ · SVIS //// ST

From Postrana the road runs along the shore between the sandy beach and hedges of pomegranates, through scenery that increases in grandeur, till on turning a corner the estuary of the river Cettina comes into view with the little town of Almissa on the further side (Fig. 52). The situation is wild and romantic in the highest degree ; Almissa itself stands at the foot of the mountains on an alluvial plain, but the mountains rise in bare precipices from the very outskirts of the town, and on a soaring pinnacle of rock is perched a ruined castle that seems inaccessible to the foot of man. The Cettina is a wide swiftly flowing river, brimming

[1] Mommsen, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, iii. No. 1919.

full, and nearly level with the swampy pastures on either side, which makes a sudden turn just above the town and is lost to view in a tremendous ravine which seems to afford barely space for its exit. The higher summits of Mossor behind were veiled

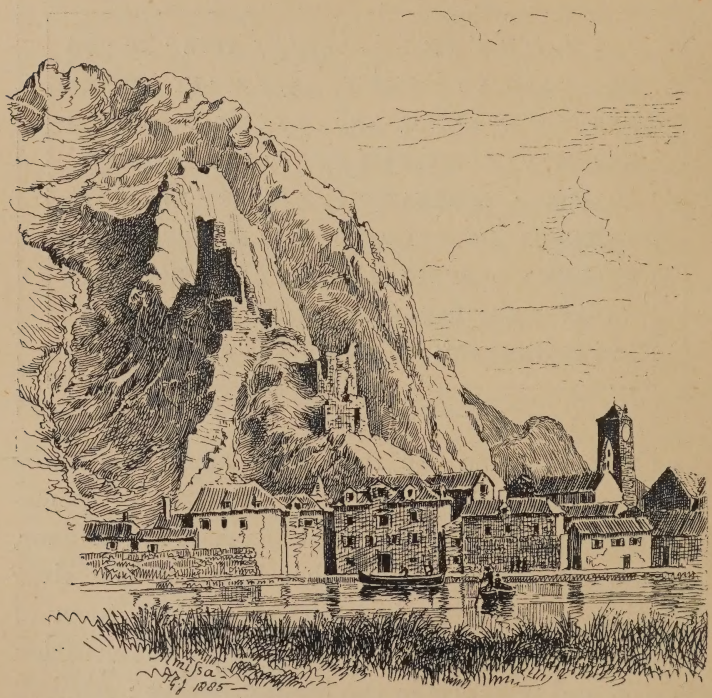


Fig. 52.

in clouds, and deep purple shadows wrapped the hollow where the river lay hid in a mysterious gloom. It would be difficult for a romancist to picture to himself a scene better fitted for the home of pirates and freebooters; the situation is wilder even than that of Segna in the Quarnero, a place

which succeeded to the ill-fame of Almissa, as Almissa had done to that of the Narentines.

There is no bridge over the Cettina, and we had to cross by a ferry, leaving our carriage on the northern side, where there is a rude osteria inhabited in common by men and beasts with but little attempt at separation.

Before the final occupation of Almissa by the Venetians in 1444, the place was little more than a fortress, with a small cluster of houses round the duomo and on the narrow strand between the hill and the river, connected by a girdle of walls with the castle Mirabella on the pinnacle above. Under Venetian rule, and with the growth of peaceful habits, the place became prosperous, outgrew its ancient limits, and extended into the adjacent plain, and a wider girdle of walls was built to enclose it. These have been for the most part thrown down in modern times, but their direction may be traced here and there where fragments have been preserved. The old gateway that faced the river has disappeared, but the architrave has been built into a neighbouring house, and on it may be read the date of its construction and the name of the Venetian provveditore Lorenzo Minio, with his scutcheon and that of the city[1]:—

LAVRENTIVS MINIVS ALMISII PROVISOR BENE MERITVS POPVLO PLAVDENTE TEMPORE ET IMPENSA BREVI HANC PORTAM CVM VTROQVE MVRI BRACHIO FACIENDAM CVRAVIT. M · DXXXXI.

[1] The arms are azure a bend 'rhomboid' (banda a rombi) or,

The town contains little that is interesting, but there are a few houses with Venetian doors and windows of an unpretending character, and here and there an inscription or a coat of arms. The church of S. Spirito, with a campanile, on a steep rock in the older part of the town, was the parish church before the present duomo was built. It contains nothing remarkable. The Palazzo comunale stands close by, with the Lion of St. Mark carved in the wall, holding a closed book. The duomo has a west front of some pretensions; the doorway is handsomely designed with elaborately carved arabesques, and a white marble statue of St. Michael trampling on Lucifer; and there is the rose window above, without which no Dalmatian facade would be considered perfect, with radiating lights and little cherubs' heads in the spandrils. The doorway bears this inscription and date :—

HAEC PORTA DOMINI NOTAS FACIT VIAS RECTAS
M · DCXXI.

The rest of the church seems to be of the same date, and calls for no remark. In the church are several pieces of plate which are shewn as part of the spoil carried off by Almissan corsairs in the good old days from the Tremiti islands near M. Gargano in Apulia. On one of these islands, the insulae Diomedeae of the ancients, where the followers of Diomede were changed by grief for their leader's

for Minio, vid. Galvani, ii. p. 91; and for Almissa a plain field with a cross and a club.

death into swans, the tomb and shrine of Diomede had been succeeded by a wealthy Benedictine convent, of whose treasures and of the ease with which they might be appropriated tempting accounts reached the ears of the Almissans. A party was formed, and a bireme equipped to undertake the enterprise, and sailing peacefully into the harbour the crafty corsairs pretended that one of their number had died at sea, and begged the holy fathers to give him burial. The pretended dead man was laid in a coffin, in which were also placed a sufficient number of swords and other weapons, and the unwary monks with holy chants and solemn rites introduced this Trojan horse within the ancient Diomedean walls. The pirate crew followed as mourners, and as they stood around the bier the dead man, at a given signal, sprang forth, the rest seized the arms, and a scene of pillage and murder ensued. Most of the monks were slain, the treasury was spoiled, and the church was laid in ruins except the east end, which the narrator thinks owed its preservation to the miraculous virtue of its superior sanctity [1].

The ostensorio, which is still shewn at Almissa as

[1] Tremitanae insulae descriptio. Benedicti Cochorellae, lib. iii. p. 14, in Graevius, Thesaurus, tom. viii. vol. 13, 14. We saw no traces at Almissa of the hereditary curse which, according to this writer, fell on the corsairs and their descendants. 'Ex eo die quo ex insula ad propria rediere nunquam agri, nunquam vineae, nunquam oliveta, campique eorum fertilitatis quippiam attulerint, sed nunc aut vis grandinis eorum praedia demolitur, aut aestus exsiccat, aut siccitate vel pruina' &c. &c.

part of the booty, is of silver gilt, with rock-crystal sides. The base is round, and is embossed and engraved with winged cherubs' heads. The upper part is hexagonal, with a column at each angle, and a pane of crystal with bevelled edges in each face ; and the cover consists of a cupola or lid, which can be removed by unscrewing the six knobs over the pillars. The decoration consists of cherubs' heads and festoons. It is a handsome piece of silversmith's work of the sixteenth century, and is therefore too modern to have formed part of the spoils of the convent on the Isole Tremiti.

Over a side altar in the church are five reliquaries behind a glass door. They consist of glass tubes with silver bases and tops, and have no particular value as works of art. These also are said to have been stolen from the Isole Tremiti, but they seem no older than the ostensorio.

The old castle Mirabella may be reached by a steep pathway at the back of the town, but it is a mere ruin. The highest tower, perched on a natural pinnacle (vid. Fig. 52), can now only be reached by climbing like a cat over the naked rock, but it had no doubt a better approach originally. It is still perfect, and serves as a storehouse, but as the door was locked, and our friends had forgotten to bring the key with them, I cannot say whether the interior contains anything worth seeing.

Higher still, on the summit of the mountain, and invisible from Almissa and the sea-coast, is the larger fortress of Starigrad, 'the old city,' which

defended Almissa on the land side, and is supposed to represent an ancient settlement. We were told it is now entirely ruined.

An excursion up the Cettina would be extremely interesting, and the scenery in the tremendous chasm through which the river forces its way must be equal to anything of the kind in the Alps. An hour and a half up the river are the mills of Vissech, belonging to our friend Signor Radman, whose hospitality we enjoyed during our visit to Almissa; and on a rock above them are the remains of a castle often mentioned in the history of Dalmatia, which was given over to the Venetians in 1475 by the son of Stephen Cosaccia, lest it should fall into the hands of the Turks [1].

About four hours above Almissa are the falls of Douare, which we were told are very magnificent, and of which Fortis writes with enthusiasm. We much regretted our inability to give more time to the magnificent scenery of this district, and also to extend our journey to Makarska, the chief town of the Craina or Primorie, some twenty or twenty-five miles to the south of Almissa. But the means of communication are so slow and uncertain that we were obliged reluctantly to leave the lower part of the Canale della Narenta unvisited. To judge from the view we had down the sound the coast must

[1] Luc. de Regn. v. v. p. 270: 'Vladislaus filius Stephani Herzegi dicti, a quo Herzegovina, ne in Turcarum manibus caderet Castrum Vissechi in praerupto saxeoque colle ad ripam orientalem Cetinae tribus milliaribus a mari distans sito anno 1475 Venetis tradidit.'

be finer than anything south of the Quarnero, and the mountains and foreshore are better clothed with vegetation, and less stern and forbidding than the arid precipices of the Vellebić between Novigrad and Segna.

The word Primorie is the Illyric version of the low Greek 'paratalassia[1],' the Slavonic '*Mor*' being the Latin *Mare*. Primorie simply means a '*litorale*,' or sea-coast, and the name was applied to several parts of the shores of Dalmatia; there was the Primorie di Ragusa, extending from Val di Noce to Stagno; the Primorie di Makarska, which was the Primorie par excellence, and was generally intended when the word was used without qualification; the Primorie of Serbia, from the bay of Antivari southwards; and the Primorie of Bosnia, in the Bocche di Cattaro, including Castelnuovo and Sutorina.

Makarska is said to be a busy prosperous little town in a beautiful situation, but containing nothing of any architectural or antiquarian interest. The cathedral, I gather, is a modern structure[2]. Makarska is mentioned under its ancient name Mocrum by Porphyrogenitus as a town of the Narentines. Like Narona it had a bishop till the destruction of

[1] 'Η παραθαλασσία is one of the eleven Croatian Zupys mentioned by Const. Porphyr. ch. xxx, but as he confines Croatia to the north of the Cettina, vid. supra, vol. I. p. 196, this zupy cannot have been the Primorie of Makarska.

[2] 'Monsignor Blascovich, Bishop of Macarsca, caused all the columns of his new cathedral, and all the steps of the altars to be brought from this place' (Gelsa in the island of Lesina, where a white and violet breccia is quarried). Fortis, p. 335.

both towns by the Avars in 639, when their sees were abolished, and Paganism returned with the Narentine occupation of the district [1]. The bishopric of Makarska was revived in 1320, the see being carved out of that of Lesina, and the title taken from Makarska, though the bishop resided at Almissa. The see has since 1830 been united to that of Spalato. In 1481 the Primorie with Makarska was sold to the Venetians by Vladislao and Vlatko, the sons of Stefano Cosaccia of Herzegovina, but in 1499 it fell into the hands of the Turks, under whom it remained till 1646, when Makarska revolted to the Venetians and finally delivered herself from the Mussulman yoke.

[1] Farlati, vi. p. 367.

CHAPTER XVI.

Dernis, Knin, and the Interior.

From Spalato we had intended to visit the principal places in the interior of Dalmatia, driving by Clissa to Sign Verlicca Knin and Dernis, and returning thence by rail to Sebenico. But it was late in the autumn, and after several weeks of brilliant sunshine, the weather had suddenly broken up and changed to violent rain and storm, and it became in the course of a few hours as much too cold for enjoyment as it had been too hot.

On the day when we were to have started for Sign, where lodgings had been secured for us by the kindness of Count Caboga, who was quartered there with a cavalry regiment, the gale increased to a hurricane, the mountains were veiled in clouds which descended every now and then in fierce scudding showers, and the sea even within the harbour rose so high as to break over the sea-wall and make a clean sweep of the esplanade, washing away hundreds of wine-casks that were waiting to be filled with the new vintage before being shipped for Bordeaux to make claret. The next day was somewhat calmer, but the gale was succeeded by deluges of rain. This obliged us to modify our plan; we

reluctantly gave up Sign and Verlicca, and decided to go early the next morning by train to Dernis, whence, if the weather mended, we could go on to Knin, while if it continued too bad for travel we had our retreat secured by railway to Sebenico or back again to Spalato.

The railway strikes inland from Spalato, and for some distance skirts the Riviera dei Castelli, which bore the marks of the recent storm, for the fields were strewn with sea-foam blown inland by the hurricane, and masses of hailstones lay thickly under the lee of the fences. The first station is at Salona, a name that seems to fall somewhat strangely from the lips of a railway porter, and after stopping at one or two of the Castelli the line leaves the coast, and by steep inclines slowly climbs the flank of the Cabani mountains. Vegetation is left behind as the shore recedes, and is succeeded by the barren white hills and stony gulleys of an arid and waterless desert. After the crest is surmounted the scenery becomes less stern, and among the white hill-tops are several extensive plains formed by earth washed down from the sides of their basin. These plains which are the cultivable soil of Dalmatia are often damp and swampy for want of natural outlets for the drainage, and the reason of the malaria which prevails throughout a great part of the interior of the province may be well understood by travelling through it as we did after a few days' heavy rain.

At Perković, a station in the wilderness with no visible town or village belonging to it, the branch

line to Sebenico diverges, and most of our fellow-travellers left us. From those who went on with us we learned that Knin was only a two hours' drive beyond Dernis, and that on the following day, October 13, there was to be a great fair there which we ought on no account to miss, as we should see a great deal of curious costume and some of the national dances if the weather were fine. To do this involved missing the steamer at Sebenico, but on the other hand we were told we could drive from Knin to Zara within the day, though it was wonderful how the length of the journey increased during the conversation from eight hours to ten or fifteen. It was agreed however by the whole company that by telegraphing to Zara for fresh horses to meet us at Bencovaz the thing might be done, and so we decided to do it.

We reached Dernis at eleven o'clock after a journey of about thirty-five miles, which had occupied four hours and a quarter. Here is the terminus of the railway for passengers, though a mineral line runs on a few miles further to the coal-mines at Siverić on M. Promina. These mines have been worked for some years by a company of Italians, to whom it is owing that the railway was made to the sea-coast by the Austrian government, which was in the dilemma of either making the line or letting the Italian company make it, an alternative which did not suit the Imperial policy. The coal is hard and gives a great deal of black smoke, as passengers by the Austrian Lloyd steamers know to their cost.

Dernis is situated on a rising ground at the edge of a vast plain, which stretches away to Knin, and lies between the isolated mass of M. Promina on the left, and M. Dinara with the Alpine range to which it gives its name on the right. The little river Cicola, a tributary of the Kerka, after many silver windings through the plain enters a narrow gorge at Dernis, and rushes foaming between precipices, on one of which stands a ruined castle of the Turks, in whose possession Dernis remained for more than a hundred years, from the middle of the sixteenth century till the latter part of the seventeenth. It was taken from the Turks by Foscolo in 1648, but as he did not occupy it the Turks claimed it at the conclusion of peace in 1669. The Venetians again recovered it in 1683, and were confirmed in their possession by the peace of Carlovitz in 1699. Dernis is now a large village of thirteen hundred inhabitants. I was told that all those within the town can talk Italian, but that the peasantry outside its limits as a rule do not understand any language but their own Illyric.

It is in the traces of Turkish occupation that the sole interest of Dernis lies. The place itself consists of an irregular cluster of houses on steeply sloping ground, with a few shops and the communal building, from which as a centre two roads lead upwards among scattered houses to the level top of the hill. Here is the old castle of Gradine, consisting of a round tower surrounded by a circular wall, a plan which we were told is common in Turkish fortresses. The outer

wall is of weak construction and the whole building is rapidly falling into ruin. It overhangs the ravine

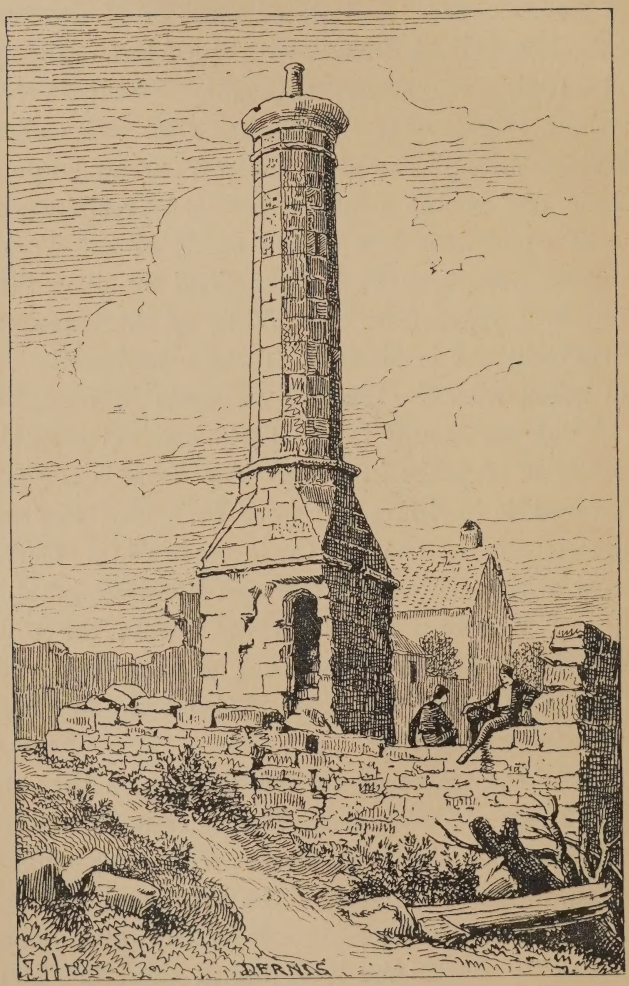


Fig. 53.

of the Cicola very picturesquely, and commands a fine view of the plain and the Dinaric Alps beyond. Close

by the castle is the ruined minaret, of which I made a sketch (Fig. 53), another relic of Turkish times, consisting of a polygonal turret on a square base with a winding staircase to the top, whence the muezzin proclaimed the unity of God and the divine mission of the Prophet. There was no parapet round the top, but a kind of stone post was considerately provided for the muezzin to hold by in windy weather. Not far off is a still more interesting relic of the foreign occupation, nothing less than a Moslem mosque turned into a Christian church, and much altered and spoiled in the process. In its original form it was an extremely pretty building, well put together, nicely finished, and shewing much more art in its construction than the Turkish handiwork we had seen at Vrana. It is square in plan, with a very well-proportioned dome resting on pendentives, which are made of that curious honeycomb or stalactite coffering which was invented by the Arabs, adopted by the Turks, and seems almost a part of the Mahometan religion. The arches are pointed and ogeed and have a very oriental look. Externally the cupola has the lower part enclosed within an octagonal drum, which is united by sloping broaches to the square below. The simplicity of the

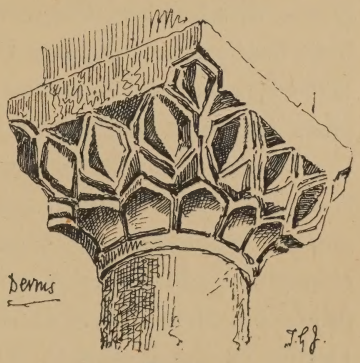


Fig. 54.

plan is spoiled by the addition of a nave and choir, which contain nothing worth noticing except two capitals, which are evidently of Turkish handiwork, used second-hand in the Christian building (Fig. 54). They illustrate that ingenuity in geometrical ornament to which the Moslems were driven by the prohibition of direct imitation of natural form.

On going to the Communal building with our letters of introduction we were greeted warmly by a friend of the preceding year, the lively secretary of Nona, who has had the good fortune to be removed from that malarious place to the better air of Dernis. But even here fever is not uncommon, for the great plain below is marshy, and after heavy rain the Cicola converts a large part of it into a lake, and the exhalations from the soil as the floods recede are most unwholesome. The whole of the drainage of this plain, which is not less than fifteen or twenty miles long, has to find its way out by the Cicola at Dernis or the Kerka at Knin, both of which rivers escape by narrow gorges between precipitous rocks that barely leave room for the stream even when not swelled by floods. At one time the whole plain was probably a lake, and nothing would be easier than to make it a lake again. To drain it effectually would no doubt be a costly operation, but it would probably be repaid by the increased fertility of the soil and healthiness of the people.

When we left Dernis our friends came with us in their own carriage as far as a spot on the side of M. Promina which is supposed to be the site of the

Roman city of Promona. Originally a city of the Liburnians it was taken by the Dalmatians in 52 B.C., and the messages of Caesar, who ordered its restoration, were treated with contempt. In 34 B.C. it was besieged and burned by Octavianus, who received a wound which obliged him to return to Rome. In the following year he completed his conquest of the Dalmatians, and the spoils of Promona figured among the trophies displayed at his Dalmatian triumph B. C. 29. Nothing now remains of Promona except a few broken walls a little distance from the road which we did not visit, but several inscriptions have been dug up in the neighbourhood. A small piece of sculpture which was shewn me was evidently mediæval and not antique.

From this point the road follows the outline of M. Promina, sweeping round the base of the mountain in a wide arc. For part of the way we drove between hedges that were almost English. Ruined towers were dotted about wherever a convenient eminence occurred, relics of the old border warfare of Moslem and Christian. The few scattered cottages of Morlacchi that we passed were no whit better than those which Fortis saw and described in the last century[1]: they had no chimney, and the smoke was left to find its way out as it could; few of them had a window or any opening whatever except the door, and they were tenanted in common by men and beasts.

Knin at last came into view, an enormous fortress

[1] Vid. supra, vol. I. p. 174.

stretching along the crest of a bluff promontory that juts forward into the plain at its upper extremity. The river Kerka flows below, sweeping in a semicircle round the foot of the rock, and then plunging into a narrow gorge on its way to the cascades of Burnum Roncislap and Scardona before entering the sea at Sebenico. Between the river and the rock, on a narrow strand that scarcely gives room for a single street, the little town stands as if huddled under the protecting wing of the great castle, without which in old days the inhabitants would have had but a poor time of it between Croat Magyar Venetian and Turk, who have all fought for and conquered the place in their turn.

Knin, in Illyric Knina, is generally identified with the 'Arduba of the ancients, famous not so much for the defence it made against Germanicus as for the untameable courage of the women, who rather chose to throw themselves and children into the fire or the river, than become slaves to the victorious Romans[1].' It is the Τνήνα or Τενήν of Porphyrogenitus, who says it was one of the towns of the Christianized Croats, and the head of one of their eleven zupanies[2]. It was a favourite seat of the Croatian kings, many of whose acts are dated from it, and at their instance a bishopric was founded here to which great privileges were attached. The bishop of Knin was the royal bishop, and followed the royal court of which he was one of the princes ;

[1] Fortis.

[2] Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. c. xxx. p. 96 ; xxxi. p. 98, ed. Bonn.

he was richly endowed with estates in almost every part of Croatia, and his jurisdiction extended as far as the river Drave[1]. Under Hungary Knin was the political centre of the kingdom, exclusive of course of the autonomous cities of the sea-coast which remained outside and apart from the government of the Ban. It was often visited by Hungarian royalty, and appears throughout the middle ages as the principal, almost the only place of any consequence in the interior of the kingdom. In the fourteenth century Neliptio, count of Knin, played an important part in Dalmatia during the troublous times preceding the accession of Lewis[2]. After maritime Dalmatia passed into the power of Venice in the fifteenth century Knin with the interior still remained subject to the Hungarian crown[3]. In 1515 the Turks for the first time assaulted the town and burned the suburbs, and in 1522 Knin surrendered to the Pasha of Bosnia, who attacked it at the head of twenty-five thousand men.

In 1648 Foscolo, after taking Dernis, advanced to Knin which he found deserted, and he in vain tried to persuade the Venetian government to place a garrison there, for want of which it again fell into Turkish hands before the end of the war, and was unsuccessfully assaulted by the Venetian forces. In 1688 however Sign and Knin, the last places left

[1] Thomas Archidiaconus, c. xv.

[2] Vid. supra, vol. I. pp. 89, 92, 94. A Table of the Comites Titinii is given by Isthuanfy, de reb. Hung.

[3] Vid. supra, vol. I. p. 139.

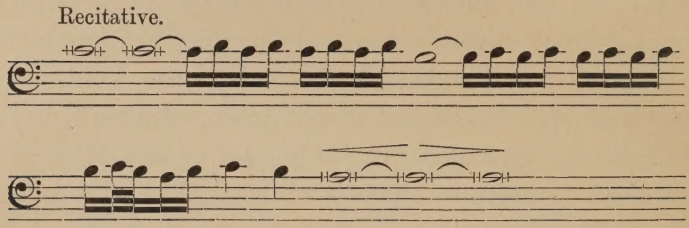
to the Turks within Dalmatia, were taken from them, and the Moslem finally retired behind the frontier.

We crossed the Kerka by a bridge just before it reached the gorge above mentioned, and then at once entered the one street of which the town consists. Though Knin figures on the map in capital letters as large as those of Zara or Ragusa, it is little better than a miserable village; and seen as we saw it under a gloomy sky which came down every half-hour in a deluge, and with a swollen river at the back of the houses which threatened to inundate the street if it rose a few inches higher, it presented a deplorable aspect indeed. Not all the array of pigs roasted whole and propped on their wooden spits against the walls of the houses in anticipation of to-morrow's fair could give the least air of festivity to the scene; it was difficult to imagine that Knin could ever be jovial, and certain that it could not be jovial under such a sky. The narrow strand between the rock and the river on which the town is built is barely raised above the level of the water, and the downfall of heavy rain for a few days is enough to cause a flood which invades the houses and makes the street navigable. The houses are for the most part humble and squalid, and those next the river seem actually leaning backwards, as if their foundations were softened by perpetual soakage, and they would before long fall over into the water by which they look already half sodden. It need scarcely be

added that the air of Knin is very unwholesome, and that the place has an evil reputation for fever and ague.

There is nothing that can be called an inn at Knin, for the wretched osteria where one gets an apology for a dinner can hardly be dignified by that title; but our friends had written to Signor Fontana, the principal tradesman in the town, who we found had kindly arranged everything for us and secured us clean quarters in a private house. The approach was certainly not promising: from a dark passage we entered a back yard full of lumber and reeking with the sour smell of old wine-casks, from which we climbed by a ladder to the first floor of the house, and then by a somewhat better stair to our rooms, which were very clean and tidy. In the daytime it was all very well, but the ascent and descent after dark by the light of a single wick floating in a pot of oil with which an old woman illumined one step after another was not so easy. Our lodging, however, was a palace compared to the osteria where we dined, or rather fed, on the best fare that Knin could afford. The dining-room was a vast Rembrandtesque apartment on the level of the street, with a low blackened ceiling, and a wooden floor that sank under the tread, squelching into the oozy mud below. Our feast was enlivened by the doleful singing of a party of peasants anticipating to-morrow's merrymaking, a strange monotonous kind of music in a minor key, each stanza being given in rapid recitative on a single high-pitched

note which descended by a kind of 'yodel' on the last syllable to a final note, which it was the aim of the singer to prolong as long as any breath was left in his body.



Sir Gardner Wilkinson says very truly that Knin boasts no antiquities. There are two churches in the street, one of the Greek and the other of the Latin rite, but they are modern buildings and not worth a visit. Of the ancient cathedral of the Croat kingdom no traces remain; according to an inscription which has been preserved it was rebuilt in 1203, in the reign of the Hungarian king Emeric son of Bela III, but this second church has disappeared as completely as its predecessor[1]. The streets are absolutely uninteresting, and contain nothing either of Venetian architecture, for which

[1] The inscription is given by Fabianich from the MS. of Mons. Vidovich, Bishop of Traü:—'ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DNI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI MCCIII REGNANTE REGE EMERICO AEDIFICATA EST ECCLESIA ISTA A VENERABILI PRAEPOSITO DOBROSSANI (?) FILII (?) PRODANTII COMITIS TINIENSIS NEPOTIS PRODOSLAVI COMITIS AD HONOREM DOMINI ET S. B. ET SCTAE M. ET SANCTI P. PRO REDEMPTIONE ANIMAE SUAE ET SVORVM.' Storia dei Frat. Min. in Dalmazia, vol. ii. p. 315. Fabianich says that the erection of Knin into a bishopric '*svela le arti degl' oltramontani a favore del culto slavo, e le cupidigie di Cresimiro IV sulla Dalmazia marittima.*'

indeed the Venetian conquest came too late, or of Turkish work such as that which makes Dernis so interesting. The only relic of antiquity is the vast castle on the crag that overhangs the town, which contains work of all ages and all the races, Croat Hungarian Turk Venetian French and Austrian, who have in turn occupied the stronghold. Guided by Dr. Monti, an advocate of Knin, who is well informed on the antiquities of his town and neighbourhood, I explored the outer courts and a succession of platforms reached by flights of steps one above another; but we were unable to penetrate to the farthest and oldest part in the absence of the garrison, who was unfortunately out for a walk with the key in *his* pocket. A single soldier now keeps the fortress of Knin for which armies have fought and bled.

The view from the heights was our only reward, and it is very fine. On the farther side of the plain stands M. Dinara, rising to the height of 6000 feet, the loftiest peak of the Dinaric Alps to which it gives its name. Over a precipice on its lower part, near a place called Topolye, falls a cascade, concealing the mouth of a cavern from which the Kerka issues forth, a full-grown river with never-failing volume, after a mysterious course underground. The cascade is fed by a torrent, and is only to be seen in wet weather such as that at the time of our visit, when it was of magnificent dimensions, a broad sheet of water falling from the height it is said of a hundred feet. The cavern

from which the Kerka issues can be entered in a boat, and the subterranean river can be navigated for a considerable distance. Fortis with his friend Mr. Hervey penetrated the cavern for some way, but their lights were put out by the water which fell from the roof, and their boat was nearly capsized by the current. An Empress of Austria is said to have entered for some distance.

Over a low shoulder of the mountain, to the right of the source of the Kerka, we were told the Cettina takes its rise in a series of natural basins in which the water boils up from invisible springs as in a caldron. Here too, are caverns and a subterranean river on a still grander scale than those in which the Kerka takes its source, which are described in Mr. Paton's entertaining account of his travels in Dalmatia. Still one more river rises in this elevated district, which is the watershed of this part of Europe; for over another low shoulder to the north is the source of the Una, which flows not into the Adriatic but into the Save, and so by the Danube to the Euxine.

It is said that Knin owes its decay to the opening of fresh routes from the interior to the sea-coast, which diverted the stream of traffic that formerly passed that way. In 1493 the community still numbered a hundred notable families among its inhabitants[1], and even as late as the French occupation it was considered a place of consequence, and held by a

[1] Storia della Dalmazia, Zara, 1878. On the authority of the archives of the Archiepiscopal Court of Spalato.

strong garrison. But from the time of the construction of the new road to Zara from Croatia over the Velebić mountains, and the establishment of steam traffic on the Adriatic down the Dalmatian coast from Trieste and Fiume, Knin has fallen into neglect, and the principal families have emigrated[1]. The population is now said to amount to about 1300, and of this number about 300 can speak and understand Italian. There are, however, probably but few to whom that language is wholly unintelligible.

The weather was so wretched, and there was so little chance of its improvement, that our friends dissuaded us from staying to see the fair, which they said would be dull and uninteresting without fine weather, and we accordingly arranged to go on the next day to Zara, and telegraphed for a carriage to meet us at Bencovaz.

At five o'clock we were up and taking our coffee at a really excellent caffè, the most brilliant ornament of the town, but it was more than half-past before our driver was ready to start. The day had scarcely begun to break as we drove out of the street, and crossing the Butimschizza, a tributary of the Kerka which flows at the back of the castle rock, began to climb the hills at the end of the valley. The morning was dark and louring, and showers came down every half-hour, but the views of plain and mountain were impressive in their solemn gloom. By an easy gradient and wide

[1] Paton, vol. ii. p. 28.

sweeps we reached a high plateau which extended for many miles, and across which we travelled for several hours. The wet weather did not deter the Morlacchi from flocking to the fair, for though in such weather there could be no fun and no dancing there was business to be done, cattle were to be sold, and purchases to be made. Along all the highland tracks we met them trooping in, some on foot, some on sorry little nags, some in country carts, clothed in garments that were often patched and sometimes in rags, but almost always covered with a display of silver beads coins and buttons that shone in the distance like the cuirasses of a troop of life guards. Such a mixture of poverty and splendour can hardly be seen elsewhere. The women, as is usual among the Morlacchi, had an air of inferiority and subjection; if there was but one pony between man and wife, the man rode while the woman trudged afoot. The female costume is less graceful than the male, and the cock bird is far the finer animal in every respect. The women with their black hair hanging loosely about the face, their handkerchiefs that cover both head and shoulders, their heavy embroidered leggings and thick aprons of carpet work, remind one of the drawings of Esquimaux or Laplanders. The dress of the girls is more becoming than that of their mothers: they wear a little red cap like the men instead of the handkerchief of the matron, and their caps are prettily spangled and embroidered, and the wearers shew more attention to their personal

charms than the married women, who seem to think they may be as ugly and dirty as they like as soon as they have got a husband. It was interesting to see groups of these picturesque figures winding across the hills and upward from the valleys, and converging from all parts of the landscape upon the pass that led down to the valley of the Kerka and Knin.

Our road lay along a nearly level plateau thickly strewn with splintered rocks, among which flourished a sufficiency of herbage and stunted shrubs to afford pasturage to numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The herdsmen were wild unkempt creatures with their cloaks or plaids drawn over their heads to keep off the rain, and one at least among them had nothing in the world but a blanket to protect his nakedness from the biting October blasts. We were now travelling parallel to the back of M. Promina, along the front of which we had come the day before from Dernis to Knin, and between our plateau and the mountain lay the Kerka at the bottom of a deep ravine which the river seems to have cut out for itself in the course of ages. In the midst of this desolate wilderness it was almost startling to come suddenly upon some ruined arches of fine Roman masonry (Fig. 55), now battered and defaced by weather and violence, but speaking of by-gone wealth and splendour, and a considerable population, where now there is not a human habitation in sight. Here stood the Roman city of Burnum or Liburna mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, which appears in

history as late as the reign of Justinian, when Ulesigalus the general of Vitiges retreated to Burnum after being defeated near Scardona. Of the destruction of the city no record remains; its very name was forgotten, and the descendants of those Slavs by whom it was probably destroyed know its ruins only as the Šuplja Crkva, or perforated church. Fortis, who saw the ruin in 1776, gives an engraving representing three complete arches and the starting of a fourth, and says that a few years

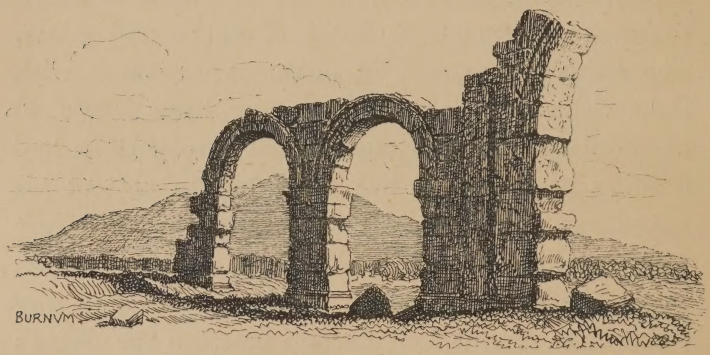


Fig. 55.

before his visit there were five, a large arch of twenty-one feet span in the centre, with two smaller arches on each side, but that two of the smaller arches had been taken away by a Morlacco for his own purposes. Sir Gardner Wilkinson gives a woodcut of the arches as he saw them in 1844, when the large central arch had fallen in, though its farther pier remained standing. Nothing is now left but one pair of the lesser arches and the springer of the large one. The masonry is ex-

cellent, and the bases and architraves are well moulded on both sides of the wall, which leads Fortis to suppose they were intended to stand isolated, and to form a triumphal monument. Wilkinson mentions the discovery of an inscription there, which he says shews they were built by a decree of the Decurions in honour of Hadrian[1]; but it does not positively appear from his account that the inscribed stone was part of the structure of these arches though found near them. Eitelberger, who gives a miserable drawing of them in his edition of 1884, thinks they may have formed part of a theatre. Fortis says the neighbouring ground still went by the name *Trajanskigrad* or Trajanopolis at the time of his visit.

The ancient city is supposed to have lain between the ruins and the river, and in this direction I was attracted by the roar of falling water. A few hundred yards brought me to the verge of the deep ravine in which the river flows, which resembles a great trench cut through the high plateau of the surrounding country. A little way up stream a natural step of rock stretches from side to side of the valley, and over this the river falls in a very pretty cascade.

No other remains of antiquity are now to be seen at Burnum, but a large collection of fragments has been

[1] CAESAR · TRAIANI · PARTHIC · FILIO DIVI NERVAE NEPOTI TRAIANO HADRIANO PONTIFICI MAX · TRIB · POT · II · CONS · II · P · PAT · DECRETO DECVRIONVM. Sir G. Wilkinson, Dalmatia and Montenegro, vol. i. p. 209.

built up at the neighbouring village of Kistanje into a wall round the public fountain. Among them are numerous pieces of figure sculpture of an inferior quality, and several pieces of entablatures, which from their scale must have belonged to buildings of very considerable size and no little architectural magnificence. Under the Empire these Roman cities of Dalmatia, which Pliny apologizes for mentioning, must have been adorned with buildings that were far from despicable, and must have been at least equal in point of architecture to the second-rate provincial towns of Italy.

At Kistanje, a scattered village formerly known as Kvartiri or Quartiere from the Venetian barracks situated there, we rested our horses from nine o'clock till noon. There is a modest osteria here, with a shop on the ground-floor where everything can be bought that a Morlacco might desire, and behind it is a great rambling room which seemed to be used as a shambles, for it would appear to be the practice in these country places for each man to kill his own meat inside his own front door. Picking our way past the freshly stripped skins and over the bloody puddles in the floor we found the staircase, and finally reached some very fair rooms above, where we ordered dinner to be made ready before our departure, and sat down to wonder how we should get through the next three hours. Our delight was proportionately great when we discovered that we were within two miles or so of the Greek convent of S. Arcangelo on the Kerka, and we at once engaged

a guide to take us there. The weather obligingly held up a little, and we had a pleasant walk through woods as far as the edge of the great natural ditch along which the Kerka runs. The view here is very fine, the banks being very steep and richly wooded, and the river winds picturesquely at a great depth below between narrow margins of vivid green. A steep descending path brought us with many zigzags to the convent, which stands on a rocky bank above the river. It consists of a square cloistered court with a domed church and campanile on one side of it, all on a rather miniature scale and of simple but not unpleasing architecture. The situation is romantic, and the views from the windows are beautiful, but an unwholesome air rises from the marshy bottom of the valley which is often flooded from side to side, and fever is not uncommon.

In the cortile were several of the caloyers[1] busying themselves about the cleaning and decoration of the little church, which was being painted and colour-washed. They brought the Abbot to us, an extremely courteous and gentlemanly ecclesiastic with the manners of a man of the world, who invited us upstairs to his cell, bedroom and sittingroom in one, where we were regaled with coffee and rosolio. The refreshments were brought by one of the brotherhood, who stood waiting to receive the empty cup or glass

[1] For the derivation of *calogero*, our English *caloyer*, the name given to Greek monks, Mr. Curzon suggests καλὸς γέρων. Vid. Monasteriès of the Levant, ch. xxiv. I do not know whether a better explanation has been given.

on his tray. This is the general custom in Dalmatia, and sometimes perplexes a stranger, who is perhaps accustomed to sip his coffee or liqueur at leisure, and does not at first realise that he is expected to swallow it at a gulp. The liqueur was home-made by the monks, a kind of Dalmatian chartreuse, extracted if I remember from plums. Remembering the rigid exclusion of women from Roman Catholic convents I was surprised that my wife should be admitted to the inmost recesses of S. Arcangelo as freely as I was; but the Greek monks seem to be less exclusive than the Latins, and we found even the Latins in very remote places less particular in this respect than their brethren of the cities.

The convent has been so often robbed and ruinated by the Turks that it now contains nothing of any antiquity. The tower, according to the abbot, was rebuilt in 1790, and the greater part of the buildings are of the same date. Over the entrance-gate is an inscription in ancient Cyrillic letters, to which the date 1402 has been added by another hand in Arabic numerals. The Morlacchi have a tradition that St. Paul in his journey through Illyricum 'said mass' here, and they regard the place with great reverence, but the abbot attached little importance to the legend.

The level plateau over which we had travelled so long continues for some miles beyond Kistanje, and then ends abruptly with a sudden step, the margin of an extensive plain, across which the eye wanders to a succession of undulating hills with loftier mountains

in the distance. The road descends with a wide sweep past the hamlet of Varivode, and then joins the road from Scardona. A great part of the plain had been laid under water by the recent rains, and in places these temporary lakes almost submerged the road. Before reaching Bencovaz we passed several border towers like those near Dernis, and on a high hill to the left was the castle of Perušić, a most imposing pile of mediæval fortification, which is often mentioned in the warfare of Turk and Venetian during the sixteenth century, and is I believe still partially habitable. It seemed to consist of a square enclosure with curtain walls and towers, and a huge castellated building within.

By the time we reached Bencovaz it was half-past four o'clock, we had come about forty miles, and our horses were nearly done up, though we had rested them two or three times since leaving Kistagne. Bencovaz is prettily situated on the skirts of a wooded hill crowned by a castle, which is now dismantled and turned into private dwellings. The population is about three hundred or four hundred. There is no inn or lodging to be found of any kind, and we heard that on one occasion a gentleman from Zara who was detained by business at Bencovaz was obliged to pass the night in his carriage. It may be imagined therefore that we enquired somewhat anxiously for the carriage that was to have been sent from Zara to meet us. The little place was in a hubbub, for here too a fair was going on, and the street was thronged with Morlacchi and their droves

of sheep and cattle, which had trodden the ground into mud nearly ankle deep. Never out of Ireland have I seen anything approaching it for dirt and discomfort. The blaze of silver ornaments on the peasants' dresses was amazing; the mere value of the precious metal in Bencovaz that day must have amounted to some thousands of pounds sterling, and I shall never forget the appearance of two young girls, heiresses, who paraded the village so thickly hung with buttons, coins, studs, and beads, that they chinked as they walked.

In the midst of this Vanity Fair we were recognised by a gentleman of the place to whom our friends at Zara had had the thoughtfulness to telegraph, and who had been on the look-out for us since mid-day. This is only one instance out of many of the consistent kindness and attention we met with in every part of Dalmatia from persons of every class both high and low, a kindness which cannot fail to endear both the country and the people to every traveller who has experienced it.

Our friend speedily found us our carriage, and while the horses were being put to and the luggage shifted he took us to a shop where we got some excellent bread, a commodity almost always to be had in Dalmatia, and some bottled Pilsener beer, and in half an hour we were off again with a better carriage and stronger horses than those that had brought us from Knin. We had still nearly twenty-two miles between us and Zara, and it was dark long before we joined the road which runs by Obbravazzo

over the Velebić into Croatia. At last the lights of Zara appeared flashing through the night, and shortly after eight o'clock we rattled under Sammichieli's gateway, and completed our drive of sixty-one miles about fifteen hours after we had mounted our carriage at Knin in the darkness of the early morning.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Island of Lesina.

History of the island. Cittavecchia. Verboska. Duomo of Lesina. Convent of S. Francesco, and other Churches.

The island of Lesina, known to the Romans as Pharia, and to the Greeks as Πιτύεια, Πάρος, Φάρος, Φάρα, Φαρία, still possesses several monuments of the ancient race, whether Pelasgian or not we need not stay to enquire, whom the Greek colonists found there on their arrival in the fourth century before Christ. Their sepulchral cairns are to be seen on the hills near the town of Lesina, and in those that have been opened have been found stone cists with instruments of the bronze age[1]. To the same ancient Illyrians must be attributed the Cyclopean walls at Cittavecchia, built with level courses, without mortar, not squared at the joints, but fitted accurately stone to stone.

In 385 B.C. a colony from the island of Paros, one of the Cyclades, brought to Lesina the civilization and name of their ancient home. A Greek city was founded where now stands the town of Lesina, and on the coinage of the new Paros or

[1] Studi storici sull' isola de Lesina. G. Boglić, Zara, 1873.

Pharos was stamped the goat which figures on that of the mother-city[1]. The infant colony was protected by Dionysius of Syracuse against its Illyrian neighbours, but in the succeeding century it fell into the power of Agron, who placed Demetrius there as his lieutenant. After the Roman invasion, during which Demetrius betrayed his trust, Pharos was part of the reward he received for his treachery; but he betrayed the Romans in their turn, and was defeated by L. Æmilius Paullus in 219 B. C., when his stronghold Pharos was destroyed to its foundations. In its stead *νέος φάρος*, new Pharos, now Cittavecchia, rose into consequence, and existed as a flourishing community during the Roman period. After the barbarian irruptions and the destruction of Salona in the seventh century this was one of the islands to which the wretched inhabitants fled for safety, and as we hear of their lodging themselves in huts and wigwams[2] we may conclude that the island was at that time deserted and the towns ruined. It was soon colonized by the Slavs, and is mentioned by Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century as one of the islands of the Pagan Narentines[3]. Modern Pharos, or Lesina, therefore, was repeopled by Slavs, and its towns were not Dalmatian but Slavonic towns like Nona and Sebenico, possessing no written laws, and outside the pale of the ancient

[1] Boglić, p. 14–18, says three silver coins of Pharos are in existence.

[2] Thom. Arch. c. viii.

[3] De Adm. Imp. ch. 36. Vid. sup., vol. I. p. 17.

Latin communities. Throughout the middle ages the patronymics of the principal families which we meet with are Slavonic; the places all have Slavonic names which are still more commonly used than their Italianized names; and the word Lesina itself, instead of being Italian and descriptive of the '*awl*' shaped configuration of the island, may be traced with greater probability through the various forms in which it occurs in ancient documents, Liesena Lesna Lisna, to the Slavonic '*lies*' a wood, whence comes the adjective *lisna*, woody [1].

The ancient capital, or its site, was known even in the Illyric language as '*Far*' or '*Hvar*,' a name that yielded gradually to the modern Lesina, or sometimes in the fourteenth century to Cittanuova, by way of distinction from Cittavecchia, Lesina Vecchia, or in Illyric Starigrad. Great is the controversy at the present day between the two towns Cittavecchia and Lesina as to their respective antiquity: but Professor Boglić gives good reasons for supposing that the city or town of Starigrad did not survive the disasters of the sixth and seventh centuries, and that during the middle ages Lesina was the only place of consequence in the island, Cittavecchia being merely a hamlet till the sixteenth century. This seems to be confirmed by the extremely modern look of the latter town, and the utter absence of any mediæval architecture there.

We know nothing of the part taken by Lesina

[1] Boglić, p. 31.

in the struggle between the Venetians and the Narentines in the ninth century. There is a vague tradition that the Narentines had an arsenal here which the Venetians destroyed, but the name of the island does not appear in the history of the expedition of Orseolo II[1]. Lesina submitted to Coloman in 1105, and again to Venice in 1125. In 1145 Petrana the Venetian count of Zara, in order to detach the islands from Spalato which was then Hungarian, established a bishopric at Lesina, which he intended to be suffragan to the newly erected metropolitan of Zara[2]; but the archbishop of Salona succeeded in holding his own, and asserting his authority over the new see. It included at first all the large islands as far as Méleda, and on the mainland the Kraina or coast from Almissa to the Narenta, but the new dioceses of Curzola and Makarska were subsequently carved out of it[3]. Whether the original seat of the bishopric was at Lesina or at Cittavecchia is another point over which a controversy still rages between the two places, but it seems to be generally agreed that since the middle of the thirteenth century, at all events, the '*cathedra*' of the bishop has been at Lesina. He was at first elected by

[1] The *Ladestina insula* conquered by Orseolo (vid. Dandolo, l. xv. c. i. 29) is not as some suppose Lesina, but Lagosta.

[2] Thom. Arch. c. xx.

[3] 'Phariensis Episcopus habeat sedem suam in Phar, et habeat has parochias Phar Braciam Lissam Corceram Lastam et Mulcer et totam Crainam.' Act of Synod of Spalato, A. D. 1180. Farlati, vi. p. 367.

the clergy and people of the whole diocese, subject to the sanction of the King of Hungary, whose prerogative however was not always respected: the election was afterwards vested in the nobility of Lesina; and finally the papal court, here as elsewhere, assumed to itself the right of appointment.

The neighbouring island of Lissa was permanently united to Lesina in one commune about the year 1186.

The original constitution of Lesina, a Slav community with no Latin traditions, was democratic. But a nobility had gradually been in progress of formation during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in 1242–3 it was constituted into a privileged class. By a bull of that date[1] Bela IV vested the election of the count in the bishop, the zupan or president of the Gran Consiglio, and the nobles of the house of Jivić (Givich), from the various branches of which, in future ages, the whole nobility of Lesina was derived. The Jivić were by the same bull exempted from tax and their merchandize from duty, and they were charged with the maintenance of two ships in time of war. The Gran Consiglio, or popular assembly, originally filled by

[1] The bull is given at length by Lucio, de Regn. iv. v. p. 165: 'Concedimus etiam ut Episcopus una cum Iuppano cum N. N. de genere Givich libera potiantur facultate eligendi et assumendo sibi comitem de Hungaria . . . Statuimus quod Iuppanus semper de genere Givich eligatur et electus comiti praesentetur confirmandus et quod sit Iuppanus ambarum insularum tam Fari quam Brazze,' &c., &c.

men of all ranks, gradually fell more and more into the power of the nobles; annual elections gave way to election for life, and in the succeeding century to hereditary membership.

During the first part of the thirteenth century the islands of Brazza and Lesina were subject to the counts of Almissa, but the piracies of the Almissans drove the islanders to liberate themselves with the aid of the Spalatines[1], and for a time they formed a distinct zupany under Hungarian rule. Bela IV placed them under the government of his soldier prelate Hugrino, archbishop and count of Spalato, but after his short term of office the islands had counts of their own again.

Tired of these constant changes, and despairing of any other protection from the piracies of the Almissans, the Lesignani in 1278[2] sought the protection of Venice, and remained under the rule of the serene republic till 1358. The Venetians fortified the town, repressed the Almissans, and in 1331 granted the commune a charter. Their government was wise and beneficent, and the laws were equally and justly administered without respect to rank or class[3]; but in 1334, by a revolution similar to that which had taken place at Venice, the Gran Consiglio was 'closed,' and membership was thenceforth confined to the nobility, consisting chiefly of the house of Jivić and its branches.

[1] Vid. General History, vol. I. p. 64.

[2] Lucio, de Regn. iv. c. ix. p. 183. Vid. sup., vol. I. pp. 74, 80.

[3] Boglić, p. 79–95.

In 1354, Lesina was sacked by the Genoese, during their war with Venice, and in 1358, as the city still held out for Venice, it was sacked by the men of Almissa Traü and Spalato in the freshness of their fervour for their new lord Lewis of Hungary, the Venetian podestà Nicolò Corner being driven to seek safety within the walls of the castle[1]. By the treaty of 1358 Lesina with the rest of her Dalmatian possessions was surrendered by Venice to the Hungarian king, under whose rule the ancient chartered privileges of the commune were diminished, and the right of electing the count taken away from the citizens.

The short rule of the Bosnian Tvartko, and that of Hervoye, who included the countship of the islands among the other dignities with which he was invested by the pretender Ladislao of Naples, so disgusted the Lesignani that, when later in the fifteenth century negotiations were opened by the Bosnian Gran Vaivode for the acquisition of the islands, the people of Lesina petitioned the Venetians not to surrender them, or if they should do so to give them a new home in Istria or somewhere else under the standard of St. Mark[2].

After the final disgrace of Hervoye in 1415 an unseemly contest arose between Ragusa and Spalato for the purchase of the islands of Lesina Brazza and Curzola. Sigismond was in need of money and ready to deal with the highest bidder, and as

[1] Luc. de Regn. iv. xvii. p. 234.

[2] The words of the petition are cited by Boglić, p. 95.

Ragusa had the longest purse the islands were finally conceded to her. An armed force under the standard of S. Biagio took possession, and a Ragusan count was established in each island[1]; but the new government was not popular; the islanders, especially the Lesignani, complained that the officers were illiterate and unskilled in the administration of justice, and the report that reached them that the Ragusans had interfered with popular rights in land[2] in their last territorial acquisition alarmed them lest the land which they then held in absolute possession should be charged with new burdens and conditions. The Cavaliere Ladislao Jakša, a noble of Lesina, was entrusted with a petition to Sigismund, and in March 1417 the Ragusans were compelled by an imperial act to withdraw. Lesina was granted to Jakša, who assumed the style of governor of Dalmatia and count of the islands[3], but in the following year a popular rising was provoked by the excessive power of the nobles, and a reform of the constitution was in progress when the island in 1420 passed without a struggle into the hands of the Venetian admiral Loredano, and became finally part of the dominions of the Republic.

[1] Their term of office was six months. Giunio de Croxi was the first count at Lesina. Boglić, 97.

[2] Lud. Tubero, cited Boglić, p. 99, says this interference was with the Canalesi, which is inconsistent with dates; Resti says the Canali were not acquired till after the Ragusans had lost the islands in 1419.

[3] 'Ladislaus Jahsia de Kusal Aulae miles gubernator Dalmatiae, et Comes Insularum.' Storia di Curzola, Paolini, Excerpt. p. 17.

Both popular and aristocratical factions sent envoys to the Senate to influence in their own favour the future constitution of the island. In their reply the Senate leaned on the whole to the just demands of the people. They promised that the count should be a Venetian patrician[1]; declined the imposts offered by both parties, and left them to be employed by the council in the administration of the island; promised to confirm the statute if properly informed about it; equalized Lesina with other Dalmatian towns as regarded duty on import of wine at Venice; decreed that the judges should be elected from the whole body of the maggiore consiglio, and not only from the nobility[2]; and released the people from a debt contracted by the nobles with a certain baron of Hungary.

Under the Venetians Lesina rapidly advanced in prosperity. It exported wool, sheep, cheese and salt fish[3], and the latter industry might have developed to a much greater extent but for the injudicious duties on salt which the Venetians exacted like the Hungarians who preceded them[4]. During the sixteenth century Lesina was an important

[1] The popular party had begged *that he might never be a Dalmatian!* Boglić, 103.

[2] By the abortive reform of 1419, which was interrupted by the return of the island to the Venetian dominion, the maggiore consiglio was partially reopened to the *popolani*. Boglić, p. 152.

[3] Wheler, A.D. 1678, page 25.

[4] Sir Gardner Wilkinson points out the injury to trade resulting from the Austrian Government having continued this tax. Vid. supra, General History, vol. I. pp. 121 and 171.

station at which ships touched on their way between Venice and the Levant and Puglia. An arsenal was established here, and it was the rendezvous of the fleet on its way to and from Corfù, the principal naval station of the republic for the protection of her commerce in the lower part of the Adriatic.

In 1571 the renegade Uliz-Ali, King of Algiers, in command of the Turkish fleet, having failed before Curzola advanced to Lesina, sacked the city, and gave a great part of it to the flames.

In 1776 Curzola took the place of Lesina as the principal naval station of the Venetians in these waters, the harbour being more commodious and safer, and the island better placed for watching the southern part of Dalmatia.

In the great European war at the beginning of this century Lesina experienced the same vicissitudes as the rest of Dalmatia. By the treaty of Campo Formio in 1798 it was ceded to Austria, and by that of Presburg in 1805 to France. The French troops who occupied it repulsed an attack by the Russians on April 29, 1807, though the only defences were the old Forte Spagnuolo, and a small fort to the left of the harbour, and the Russians were compelled to retire with the loss of the troops they had landed. The place was strengthened by the construction of the great fort Napoleone on the mountain to the east of the city, which the Austrians have renamed Forte S. Nicolò, but both this fort and the Forte Spagnuolo were surrendered

by the French in 1813 after the Lesignani had dragged cannon to the summit of a higher mountain which commanded them.

The Island of Lesina.

We left Spalato at four in the morning by the steamship Isea, not one of the Austrian Lloyd boats, but a merchantman with tolerable accommodation for a few passengers, whose departure sometimes fills up conveniently the gaps in the time-table of the larger company.

Our course lay due south between the islands of Solta and Brazza. Solta, famous for its honey, has 2500 inhabitants, and the steamers sometimes touch at its chief town Porto Carober. Brazza, the ancient Brachia, which is divided from Spalato by a channel some ten miles in width, is a mountainous island, the largest in Dalmatia, with more than 18,000 inhabitants, and several large villages, among which the names Dol and Bol have a curious Breton sound, connected perhaps with the Celtic element in ancient Illyria. It produces a wine which is said to rival Tokay. If the island contains anything of artistic interest it will probably be found at Neresi in the interior of the island, the ancient capital and seat of the Venetian count, a place which has now dwindled to a village, being surpassed in consequence by the maritime towns of Milnà, and San Pietro. Neresi can be reached by a *strada carreg-*

giabile[1] from S. Pietro, but I cannot say whether there are any carriages to run upon it [2].

Passing through a narrow channel between these two islands we reached the open sea, and made for the island of Lesina, which now came into view some ten miles away. On reaching it we found we had still six miles to go down a narrow gulf which penetrates the island, and at the end of which stands the town of Cittavecchia. The gulf forms a splendid natural harbour fenced in by rocky hills on the left and rather high mountains on the right. It was only 8 a.m. as we neared the end of our journey, and saw the town of Cittavecchia or Starigrad wrapped in the haze of the early morning, through which an imposing campanile was dimly visible.

Cittavecchia is a busy place with a great deal of ship-building, and is said to be the most prosperous and flourishing town on this or the neighbouring islands; but half-an-hour sufficed to satisfy us that it contained nothing interesting in the way of art or antiquity. The houses are plain and modern, without the least trace of the Venetian architecture that generally meets the eye at every turn in Dalmatian towns. The principal church has a toler-

[1] Schatzmeyer.

[2] Fortis describes Neresi as still the seat of the governor in his time, but comparatively deserted since the cessation of piracy had made it safe to live in the villages of the coast, and he says the houses were falling into ruin on every side. The name probably contains the old Greek root signifying 'water,' the νερό of modern Greek. Fortis speaks of reservoirs of water near it.

able facade towards the little piazza in an early renaissance style, and the great campanile is a fair classic work of the last century. Another church farther from the harbour has even less to detain one, though part of it seems of some antiquity. Finally, there are some fragments of Cyclopean walls hidden behind modern houses, which I did not see, and with these the list of sights at Cittavecchia is exhausted.

Stranded thus with nothing to occupy us in the town we enquired whether there was anything of interest in the neighbourhood, and found everyone ready to talk of the wonders of Verboska, a place five or six miles off, where was a church famous for its pictures, and for the singularity of being both church and fortress in one. We started therefore for Verboska under the guidance of Giorgio Zaglević, a good-looking boatman, who carried our sketching things and a basket of provisions, for we were warned there was no inn at Verboska, and no food to be bought there.

The path was rough and stony, mostly between walls as is usually the case in Dalmatia, especially on the islands, where every yard of cultivable ground is enclosed. But though the Dalmatian farmer fences in his vineyards and oliveyards he has not arrived at the art of providing them with gates; to enter them you must either climb over the loose stone walls, at the risk of bringing them down with you and breaking your legs in the avalanche of stones; or else you must deliberately

pull a piece down and build it up again behind you, unless, as some people do, you leave the proprietor to do it for you. After about an hour's walking we got free of the stone walls into an open and barren district, pleasanter however to walk in, for the paths winding in and out among the enclosures are monotonous and tiresome enough. Here we met the Parroco of Verboska in the middle of a troop of his parishioners on his way to market at Cittavecchia, who expressed his regret that he could not stay to do the honours of his church. He was luxuriously seated on a large soft pillow on the back of a well caparisoned mule, and held a huge umbrella over his head, and though somewhat hot looked a picture of comfort.

Two hours' easy walking brought us to Verboska, a village of whitewashed houses piled up the steep sides of a rocky inlet of the sea. Strangers would seem to be rare, for our appearance caused considerable excitement, and a large part of the population followed us from church to church, and even entered the buildings with us. There are two churches, of which the more interesting is that at the far end of the village, castle and church in one, intended as a refuge for the Verboskans in case of a sudden inroad of Turks or Uscocs. It seems to have been fortified at more than one period, and the defences have in a humble way followed the progress of the art of engineering. The body of the church is crenellated like a mediæval castle, square internally, but having externally what seem at first

sight eastern and lateral apses, but prove to be in reality bastions with chambers and embrasures for small cannon. They shewed us a kind of flue constructed in the thickness of the wall over an embrasure to carry off the smoke of the discharge. Besides this there is at the other end of the church a small spur-shaped bastion in the later style of Sammichieli or Vauban. The building is undoubtedly very curious and deserved a sketch, but we were so pestered by inquisitive natives that it was out of the question to sit down and produce drawing things [1].

Over the high altar is a fairly good but not very interesting picture of the birth of the Virgin, which is attributed to Paolo Veronese. There are two other pictures of considerable merit over the side altars by Alamardi, a painter of whom, if his name was given me correctly, I must confess I had never heard, and who is not to be found either in Vasari or Lanzi.

In another church dedicated to San Rocco is a really fine painting, either by Titian or of his school, which is now cut into three to fit the compartments of a gorgeous modern carved and gilt altar piece, but once formed a single picture. The centre compartment contains St. Lawrence in the lower part with angels and the Virgin above: to the proper

[1] There is another fortified church at Gelsa some miles further down the coast; and at the same place is or was a tower of primæval workmanship probably coeval with the Cyclopean walls of Cittavecchia.

right is S. Rocco, and to the proper left a bishop, possibly St. Augustine.

We were much entertained with the raptures of a person whom we took for the custode. He threw himself about with contortions of delight, making a telescope of his hand, and moving us and himself to different spots for favourable views of the picture, breaking out all the while into ejaculations of wonder, as if he had never seen it before. As he must have seen it every day we could not help admiring his enthusiasm, and thought the church fortunate in a cicerone who played his part so well. Among the crowd which swarmed round us, all dressed much alike, he seemed the proper person to whom to offer the usual fee, but our horror may be imagined when he drew back and pointed to the proper recipient, and when we found out from Giorgio that he was a *Signore* and an amateur. It was an awkward blunder, but I did my best to repair it, and I think we parted good friends.

But Cittavecchia is not the only town on the island; there is the town of Lesina, and though everyone at Cittavecchia, high and low, told us it was a poor decayed place full of priests and not fit to be named in the same day as Cittavecchia, we determined to go there and judge for ourselves. The journey could be made either on mules over the mountains in five or six hours without our heavy luggage; or, if the wind served, by boat in the same time; or better still if we could go with only a hand-bag, we might land at a place called Soco-

lizza, which we could reach in two hours, cross the hills by a mountain path, and so drop down on Lesina on the other shore, avoiding the long circuit round the western end of the island. This last seemed the best plan, for the ill report of the place so far influenced us that we thought a visit of twenty-four hours would be quite enough, and that we might keep the boat and come back the next day for our heavy luggage in time for the steamer to Curzola.

Terms were soon struck with Giorgio Zaglević, and we started in an open boat the following morning with him and his mate. There was not much wind, or Giorgio promised we should shew the steamer Delfino, which was starting for Trieste, a clean pair of heels, for the Austrian Lloyd boats are slow travellers. After a pleasant run of two hours we reached Socolizza, a place consisting of two houses and a ruin at the far end of a deep bay, where we left the boat in charge of the mate, and started on foot to cross a low shoulder of the mountain backbone of the island which divided us from the open Adriatic. The hill was stony, but among the white marble rocks that were strewn over the surface flourished a number of aromatic herbs that scented the air agreeably. Rosemary grows abundantly here and elsewhere in the Dalmatian islands; there were thickets of myrtle bushes, now full of purple berries; and arbutus, hung with lovely fruit of crimson or apricot colour, shining like jewels in their setting of rich dark foliage. A gigantic heath,

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T.G.J. del. 1884.

LESINA.
S. Marco.

growing in bushes six feet high, and full of white and pink blossom, made a splendid show; and wherever the ground was most bare and stony and other plants failed there was sure to be a low glaucous leaved plant, a kind of centaury, so like in colour to the lichen of the stones that at a short distance the eye could not detect the presence of any vegetation at all. The plants that grow on these sterile rocks are generally hard and shrubby as if they imbibed the severity of the soil they sprang from, and they are generally aromatic like those characters whose latent sweetness is only brought out by adversity.

At last we reached the ridge, and the sea lay spread out to view before as well as behind us; behind was the archipelago of islands with interlying canals and the mountains of Herzegovina in the background, in front was the open Adriatic with the outlying island of Lissa in the middle distance, blue and hazy, awakening memories of ancient Greek colonization, Roman intervention for the first time in Illyrian waters, English triumphs, and Italian reverses. Above us to the left towered a great modern fortress, the Fort Napoleon of the French, rechristened Forte S. Nicolò by the Austrians, whose guns command the roadstead. Giorgio had served his time in the Austrian navy and his enthusiasm took fire; 'If ever the Italians come near Lesina,' said he, 'Addio! Addio! perchè l' Austria è più forte.'

Another castle, older and more picturesque, the

Forte Spagunolo, lay on a nearer height, and below and beyond it the white houses of the town of Lesina began to appear over the shoulder of the hill on which we were. Warned by our disappointment at Cittavecchia, and by the poor accounts we had had of the place, we had been preparing ourselves for the beatitude of those who expect nothing, but our composure was soon dispelled as one graceful campanile after another came into view with shafted windows of white marble, and it was finally converted into enthusiasm as we reached the shore after a rapid descent and found ourselves on the quay of the little harbour, with a splendid loggia to our left, the old Venetian arsenal to our right, and a spacious piazza stretching away between ancient Venetian buildings to the Duomo which with its lofty campanile closed the vista (Plate XXVII). Cittavecchia was forgotten, or remembered only to make us regret the time we had wasted there, which might have been so much better spent at Lesina.

As we advanced up the Piazza the interest increased instead of diminishing, tempered however by regret for the decay and decline everywhere visible. On all sides we saw roofless walls set with beautiful traceried windows through which the blue sky was seen, and handsome palaces with rich balconies now deserted or turned into magazines and storehouses. The prosperity and importance of Lesina are now matters of the past. She is no longer needed as an outpost to watch the dreaded

T.G.J.

Porta Maggiore

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Turk, nor do trading ships on their way to Venice or Trieste require frequent stations to touch at as in the old days before steamers were invented. The population has sunk to 2000, there are but few vessels in the roads, and little activity in the streets, and but for the signs of former opulence and even splendour that meet the eye at every turn, it would be difficult to believe that Lesina had ever been on the highway of European commerce.

The town consists of two parts on opposite hills divided by a level plain. On one hill is the old town, still entered by three gates, and enclosed by the old walls which stretch up the hill side to meet the Forte Spagnuolo[1]. Within the walls are narrow steep streets, with here and there Venetian palaces, one of which, the Palazzo Raimondi, adjoins the south or principal gate and actually rests on the town wall (Plate XXVIII). It has been a fine building of fifteenth century Venetian Gothic, and the traceried windows remain though the roof is gone, the proprietor being unequal to the expense of repairing it, and having built himself a cottage within the four walls of the older building. The opposite hill has also many fine palaces on it still perfect and occupied, though no longer by *famiglie signorili*. Some are let in apartments to poor families, and others serve as magazines for drying fruit or chrysanthemum flowers, or for storing other produce. The little streets are scarcely

[1] Over one of the two small doors of this fortress is the date MDLI. with the Venetian lion.

altered since the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and abound in charming bits of Venetian architecture; the ancient shops remain with their stone counter half way across the open archway, and almost every house has the jutting balconies so dear to the Venetian architect. Between the two parts of the town lies the piazza or forum of the old Commune, smoothly flagged and level as a floor, with just one step across its whole width near the old marble well in front of the Duomo. This grand open space bordered by graceful architecture gives Lesina a very stately and aristocratic air, and even reflects in a measure the grandeur of the great piazza of the mistress city.

At the lower end of the piazza is the little port, with Sammichieli's sumptuous arcaded loggia, and the old arsenal with its wide arch by which a galley could be taken into the covered dock that forms the lower story, the upper being occupied by a theatre. Before the loggia, where the judges used to sit (Plate XXIX), still remains the white marble base of the flag post whence floated the standard of the Serene Republic, and the view is closed by the lofty though half ruined campanile of S. Marco, which surpasses in richness that of the Duomo itself.

The Duomo. The bishopric of Lesina dates from 1145[1], but of the ancient cathedral of those times nothing has survived the repeated attacks of fire and foe to which Lesina has been exposed. The choir is possibly older than the rest, but it has no architec-

[1] Vid. supra, vol. I. p. 47 and vol. II. p. 205.

LESINA.

T.G.J.

Loggia and Forte Spagnuolo.

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Plate XIX

tural details by which to tell its age. The facade, toned by time and weather to a delicious mellow ochre, is simple and graceful but not remarkable, except as affording an instance of the influence exercised on Dalmatian church architecture by the cathedral of Sebenico, whose semicircular gable end supported by a quadrant on either hand to close the aisles is faithfully repeated here, though without the daring roof construction that generated it[1]. This facade dates from the sixteenth century after the burning of the city by Uliz-Ali in 1571, and the campanile is probably of the same date, if we may judge from the analogy of the other campaniles at Lesina. The doorway is apparently older than the rest of the front, and has some good early renaissance details. In the tympanum is a statue which may have belonged to the mediæval church.

The interior contains some stalls of walnut, carved and pierced like those at Arbe and so many other places in Dalmatia, which date from the middle of the fifteenth century. The design of the pierced tracery work is very good, and the flowing foliage is free and excellent in its way, but unfortunately the upper half of the backs and carved divisions is missing. On one of the standards are the arms and name of a count or provveditore, MARC° ANTONIO VENIER, and the date 1579, which however have evidently been inserted afterwards, for the stalls

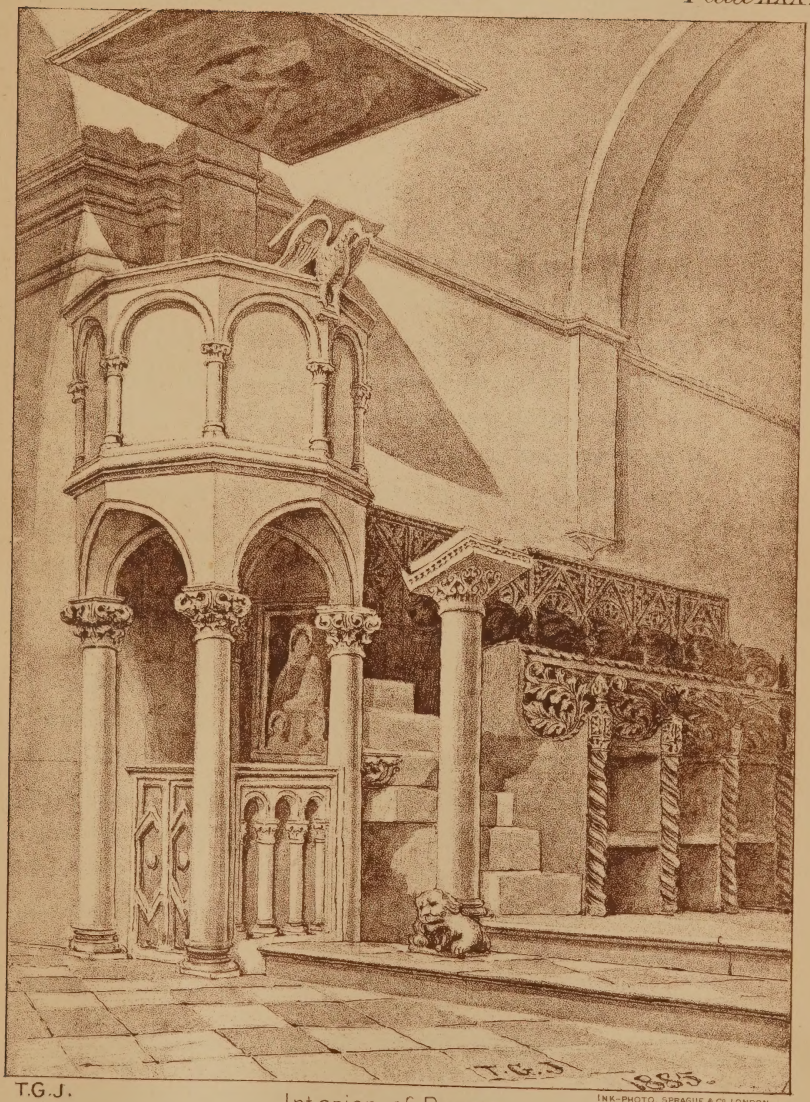
[1] The same form occurs in the facades of St. Maria at Zara, the votive church of S. Salvatore at Ragusa, and the duomo at Cittavecchia.

cannot be later than 1450. The canons were talking of discarding their old stalls and having entirely new ones, and had actually obtained a plan which they shewed me, but I believe I succeeded in persuading them to retain the old, restoring, if they must, the missing upper part. At each side of the entrance to the choir is an ambo of stone, and beside it a lectern also of stone, supported by a single shaft. The whole arrangement is curious and unusual (Plate XXX). Each ambo stands on four columns, but its upper part is octagonal, and the transition from square to octagon is oddly contrived by breaking each of the four round arches into two planes. The foliage is of late Venetian Gothic, and the whole dates probably from the fifteenth century like the stalls. Under each ambo is a small altar.

The nave of the church has been modernized and stuccoed, the work probably of the year 1706, when, according to an inscription over the sacristy door, a reconsecration took place.

Near the west end is now placed a stone reredos of Venetian Gothic with figures in niches under a pointed arch, which formerly stood above an altar in the south aisle. The arches are Gothic, but the shell appears in the head of the niches, a feature to which Italians clung through nearly all the styles. The figures are well carved in a severe and restrained manner.

The treasury contains several objects of considerable interest. It is rich in embroideries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of very beauti-



T.G.J.

Interior of Duomo.

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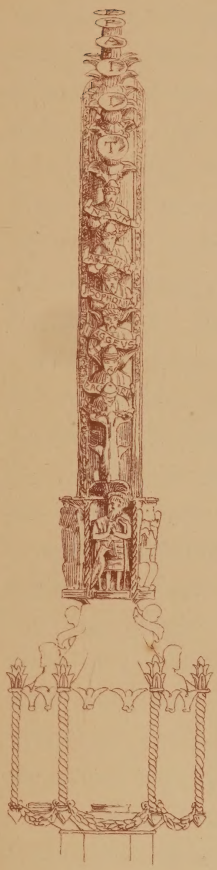
ful design and work, and possesses one fine embroidered cope of the fifteenth century sadly injured by age and wear. The most magnificent vestments are a piviale or cope and two pianete or chasubles of gold embroidery on crimson silk made by the nuns of S. Lorenzo at Venice in the time of Napoleon, which are of extraordinarily fine work. The real interest of the collection however centres in the silversmith's work, and in the very curious pastoral staff of gilt brass (Plate XXXI). This strongly resembles that in the treasury of the duomo at Zara, and though inferior to it in point of art is even more quaint and original. The crook, or quasi crook, for it is really completed into a circle, is composed of a serpent whose sides are enriched with rosettes on a band of base silver. His head lies inside the circle, and on it stands a statuette of the Virgin placed sideways with her face to the circumference, and the mystic Dove above her. Before and behind her are two queer little figures ending below the waist in a twisted stem and a calix, from which their upper half emerges. Their conical caps and odd termination give them the look of old fashioned chessmen. The one facing the Virgin is an archangel who places a crown on her head, and the one to whom she turns her back is Moses, who has put off his shoes which may be seen to the right and left of the serpent's jaws, and who bears a scroll with the inscription—

VIRGINE CONTERET : CAPVT SERPENTIS.

The outer circumference is fringed like the pastoral

staff at Zara with a border of little radiating busts, Christ in the centre and the apostles right and left of him, each little head with its nimbus springing from the calix of a flower, while beyond the apostles follow the twelve prophets, six on a side, arranged like crockets on the lower part of the circumference. Though very similar, the little figures are really cast in different moulds, for each apostle has his proper emblem.

Each figure is named, the apostles by a letter on their nimbus, the prophets by scrolls in their hands. Our Lord has a cross on his nimbus; the apostles before him are marked I—Ph with a cross—B—M with a spear—S—Th with a saw—M; and the six prophets that follow are OSEE : PRO—IOHEL : PRO—AMOS : PRO—ABDIAS : PRO — IONAS : PRO — MICHEAS. The apostles behind our Lord are P holding a key—P holding a sword—A with a cross—I with a staff—I with chalice and dragon—T with a staff; and the six following prophets are NAVM : PRO—ABACHVC: —SOPHONIA—AGGEVS : P—ZACHARIAS—MALACHIAS. Beyond is a dolphin which joins the main stem. The upper tier of niches contains Elijah in a hairy garment with bare arms and legs to whom a raven brings a semicircular cake; St. John Baptist in a similar garb with the addition of an upper garment, holding a cross and scroll with the words DIRIGITE VIAM DN̄I; and the four evangelistic emblems erect, holding books and with long wings folded to their sides. Below follow twelve little busts of patriarchs springing from flowers, and each having his name on a label



ENGLISH INCHES

CENTIMETRI

T.G. del.
M. 22. Sett. 1885.

PASTORALE OF BISHOP PATRIZIO.
A.D. 1509. — 1522.

written alternately from right and left, IVDAS— NEBVR — GAD — RESA — NEPTALIM — SESSANAM — SYMEON — IVEL — ISACHAR — NOLVBAZ — IOSEPH — NIMAINEB. In the lower tier of niches forming the knop or largest part of the stem are two friars, a pope with cross and palm branch, St. Peter with book and key, St. Paul with book and sword, and in the sixth space an angel holding a shield surmounted by a mitre, the scutcheon no doubt of Bishop Patrizio the donor; the coat is a plain field with a fess. The six saints below have no names, but St. Jerome is distinguishable by his hat, and the others are a monk, a pope, and three bishops. Below this are the six days of creation, represented by an arc of a circle containing the emblem of each day's work, while above are two figures and the dove to symbolize the Trinity. Beneath are these legends, FIAT. LVX—FI : FIRMA—APPA : ARID—FIANT : LV—PRO : AREP—FICIAM : HO. Round the neck of the staff is inscribed PASTORALE : FRANCNCI : PRITICII : EPISCOP : PHARESIS : ET : BRCHIESIS.

The little cherubs' heads, shells, and swags in the lower part of the design betray its later origin in comparison with the staff at Zara (Plate VI, vol. I. p. 282), which dates from 1460. Francesco Patrizio was bishop here from 1509 till 1522.

The arms of Bishop Tomaso Tomasini, who died in 1484, occur on a parcel gilt chalice with figures embossed in low relief and chased in excellent style, and there is also a monstrance given by the same bishop with very fine cresting of German rather than

Italian character, surmounted by two little angels dos-a-dos, holding scrolls with the words ROBVR FER AVXILIVM, completing the opening words of the hymn 'O Salutaris,' &c. which are seen in raised letters round the margin below.

San Marco. This church was often the scene of patrician and popular gatherings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was the favourite place of sepulture of the nobility of Lesina. It was abandoned to ruin during the French occupation, the monks were pensioned off, the pictures dispersed, the altars sold, and the roof removed[1]. More lately the campanile, which originally was finished with a small cupola, was injured by lightning, which shattered the upper part and reduced it to its present condition (Plate XXVII). The interior of the church is full of the sepulchral slabs and monuments of the Jakša Hektorević Ivanić and other noble families, now indistinguishably smothered by a rank growth of nettles and brambles.

Franciscan Convent of La Madonna delle Grazie. Beyond the southern and extramural division of the town a pleasant footpath overhung by caroba trees and olives skirts the rocky margin of a bay and leads to the Franciscan convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, which stands on a low cliff close to the water's edge. The church has some traces of Italian Gothic in the side windows (Fig. 56), which seem to be as old as the foundation of the convent in 1461, but both the convent and church

[1] Boglić, p. 62.

suffered severely in the conflagration of 1571 when the Turks under Uliz-Ali gave a large part of the city to the flames, and the whole was restored and in great measure rebuilt in 1574, with the aid of a general contribution from the citizens[1]. This appears to be the date of the fine campanile, which rises with stage after stage of double colonnettes and round-arched lights to an octagonal story at the top crowned by a little cupola. It resembles the campanile of S. Marco which, as I have said, terminated in the same way before it was struck by lightning, and also that of the duomo, though the latter is square from top to bottom, and has a low pyramidal roof. There is little doubt that all were rebuilt at the same time, after the Turkish invasion in 1571, and they seem to be all by the same hand. The three form a group with a very distinctive character, and are unlike any others I know. The tall slender round-headed lights, the columns doubled one behind the other, and the rosettes and discs in relief which decorate the wall space all display a good deal of invention; and these Lesina campaniles may claim a high place among works of their class and date.

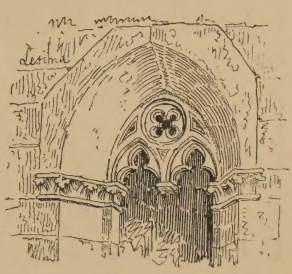


Fig. 56.

The west front, starred with cannon balls of Turks, or French, or Russians, contains a graceful doorway, probably of the date of the restoration in 1574, with

[1] Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 149.

fluted pilasters supporting a richly sculptured architrave, above which in a lunette are the figures of the Madonna and Child between two angels, recalling similar compositions of Della Robbia ware (Plate XXXII).

The interior is not remarkable, but there is a pretty fifteenth century screen of pierced stonework across the north aisle, and there are three good paintings by Francesco di Santa Croce, a painter whose work abounds in Dalmatia[1]. One of them represents the Madonna and Child with St. Jerome on the right and St. John the Baptist on the left, and three little angels below. Another is over the high altar and seems to have been much restored. These three pictures are said to have been given to the church by members of the noble family of Griffico, now extinct, who either brought the pictures or invited the artist from Venice[2].

There are other pictures in the church attributed to Palma Giovane and Bassano.

[1] There are two painters of the surname Sta. Croce, or da Sta. Croce, Francesco and Girolamo. Some, according to Lanzi, have made Francesco son to Girolamo, but this is disproved by Ridolfi who speaks of them only as members of the same family, and by the fact that the list of dated works of Girolamo begins and continues later than that of the works of Francesco. Vasari does not mention either of them. Francesco Rizzo da Sta. Croce in the territory of Bergamo was a pupil of Carpaccio, and his paintings range from 1507–1541. Like his master he clung to the older style, and his pictures have an archaic air not warranted by their date. Girolamo was a painter of more note, who resembled Titian and Giorgione in style and even approached them in merit. His works range from 1520–1549. Vid. Lanzi, vol. iii. p. 52.

[2] Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 155.

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The treasury contains a pretty and simple Gothic chalice of unusual design, and another with figures of the cinquecento period, which is still kept in the original leather case resembling a hat-box: there is also some exquisite Greek lace; and a beautiful 'pianeta' with a stole belonging to it, red on one side and white on the other, worked through and through with a gold pattern shewing alike on both sides.

But the great treasure at the convent is the 'Cenacolo,' a painting the equal of which the Lesignani say is not to be found in the whole world. The artist was Matteo Rosselli, a Florentine, who was born in 1578 and died in 1650. Driven to Lesina by stress of weather as he was crossing the Adriatic from Italy to Ragusa, he fell ill, and was taken care of by the Franciscan friars, to whom out of gratitude he presented this picture. Fabianich says[1] '*to compensate them for their good offices he presented the worthy fathers, his fortunes being at a low ebb, with the said canvas, which was one of the most finished that he was carrying with him, and which fitted very well the size of the place where it was to be put.*' But it fits the place so well that few who see it can doubt that it was painted expressly to fit it, to say nothing of the improbability of a painter carrying about with him among other pictures on canvas one that must measure at least 160 or 170 superficial feet.

The picture is in the refectory, a large low room

[1] Vol. ii. p. 158.

panelled to the height of about six feet, and surrounded by tables of dark wood on stone legs, arranged as in our English college halls. The whole end wall from the dado up to the ceiling is covered by the picture, which occupies the same position as Leonardo's Cenacolo in the refectory at Milan, the subject being of course a usual one in convent refectories. The figures are large, I suppose of life size, and the agitation of the Apostles at the announcement of the intended betrayal is admirably expressed. The painting, which is in excellent condition, resembles in style the work of Titian and Tintoret rather than that of the painters of the age of the Caracci, to which Rosselli chronologically belongs. This agrees with what Lanzi says of him, that though he studied under Pagani and Passignano, the latter of whom was one of the masters of Ludovico Caracci, Rosselli studied still more diligently the works of the older masters at Florence and Rome [1].

I do not remember ever having derived more pleasure from the work of a post-Raffaellite master than I did from this little-known masterpiece of a not very well-known painter.

Anxious to bestow as much time on Lesina and

[1] Lanzi praises him for his amiability, and says he was an excellent teacher: 'nel dipingere ebbe molti uguali, nell' insegnare pochissimi, si per facile comunciativa, si per esenzione da invidia, si per accortezza in conoscer gl' ingegni, e in guidar ciascuno per la sua via. . . . la sua maggiore lode è l' aver vestito verso i suoi quell, animo paterno che Quintiliano sopra ogni cosa desidera ne' maestri.' Lanzi, vol. i. p. 296.

as little on Cittavecchia as we could, we postponed our return till late in the afternoon, and we were consequently caught by one of those sudden changes of wind and weather which make travelling among these islands so difficult: for before the hour fixed for our departure the wind shifted to the north-east and became a Greco or Bora, which did not serve for Cittavecchia, and our return was consequently impossible. Under these circumstances we made a fresh bargain on liberal terms with Giorgio, who undertook to fetch our luggage from Cittavecchia in time for a steamer which was to touch at Lesina two days later. After he had started with an instalment of his money the storm fairly broke upon us. All that night it thundered and lightened incessantly, blew a hurricane, and rained in torrents, and we felt very uneasy at having sent him on what we feared had turned out a dangerous errand. Day broke, but the weather did not mend; it rained as if another deluge were impending over the world, and the wind howled in the gorges of the mountains and came down in fearful gusts, each one enough to seal the fate of Giorgio's open boat. Towards the following afternoon the storm blew itself out; our spirits rose with the brightening sky, and things did not look so gloomy as in the night-watches. The daylight however failed without any sign of Giorgio, but he arrived just after dark, with all our luggage on 'animali,' safe and sound. He had not been in the danger we imagined, though he had had a very rough

time of it, for finding on reaching Socolizza that it was impossible to go by sea, he and his mate had reached Cittavecchia on foot by a rugged mule-path, difficult enough to follow in the dark and rain, on the roughness of which he expatiated feelingly. It was two in the morning when they arrived at Cittavecchia, and they started again early with our boxes, which they brought half-way in a boat, and the rest of the way on mules over the mountains. Giorgio had done the whole thing admirably, and so carefully protected the luggage that very little of its contents had been injured by wet. We praised him as he deserved, and told him we had been very anxious about his safety. 'Ah,' said he, 'I had promised to come in time, and nothing should have stopped me: had it been to have my head cut off I should have come all the same.'

Our imprisonment at Lesina had not been unpleasant: we had very fair lodgings; our hostess, though her repertoire was not very extensive, cooked for us very tolerably within its narrow limits, and perhaps if our stay had been longer we should have got beyond the tomato soup and beef boiled to rags which were served to us with great regularity twice a day. The ceiling of the lower part of the house was hung thickly with clusters of grapes which were being half-dried to make a rich sweet wine called Prosecco, for which Lesina is renowned. The grapes are hung till they are half converted into raisins, when they are taken down,

the bunches are carefully looked over, and every berry that is in the least mouldy or decayed is rejected, so that when expressed the juice is the purest essence of the grape; '*sincero come l' occhio,*' as our landlord Guglielmi put it, slightly holding his eyelid open with his forefinger by way of illustration. The prosecco thus made is a liqueur rather than a wine, extremely luscious, very strong, and I should say extremely gouty.

The cultivation of the wild chrysanthemum is largely carried on at Lesina as indeed it is throughout the province. The flowers and leaves are dried and sent in sacks to Trieste to be pulverized and made into the insecticide powder which is the traveller's comfort. As nature has endowed the Dalmatian flea with uncommon powers of attack, one cannot but feel thankful that she has been equally bountiful to mankind in supplying them on the spot with suitable means of defence.

Another industry of the island is the making of rosemary oil and rosemary water, *Acqua regia*, of which at the time of our visit every alley and street was redolent. It is exported largely for use in perfumery, and in making soap. The figs of Lesina are also famous, and the wine is excellent, especially at Cittavecchia. Palms flourish in the open air, and the island climate is so mild that it has been proposed to make an Austrian Madeira by founding an establishment at the town of Lesina to receive consumptive persons. While wishing every success to the enterprise one may at the same

time protest against the contemplated Vandalism of removing two of the three picturesque towers adjoining the Loggia of Sammichiele (Plate XXIX), and building in their place a huge vulgar barrack-like edifice to which the beautiful loggia is apparently to serve as a vestibule, and by which it would be crushed into insignificance. A more tasteless and barbarous design was never put on paper, and it is to be hoped the good taste of the Dalmatians will interfere to prevent it. There are plenty of excellent sites elsewhere on the sea-shore where the '*stabilimento*' could be erected without injury to the beauty of the little town, and without involving the destruction or overshadowing of any of its interesting monuments.

The two towers whose existence is threatened formed part of the official residence of the count, the place of assembly for the gran consiglio, the centre of the municipal life of Lesina and the seat of the government; and independently of the beauty of the architectural group of which they form so conspicuous a part, their historical associations ought to give them sufficient value in the eyes of the Lesignani to protect them from the wanton destruction with which they are threatened.

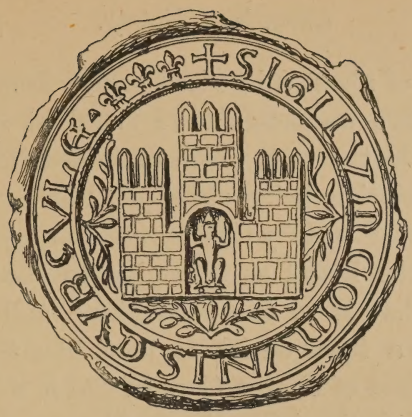


Fig. 57.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Island of Curzola.

History of the Island and City. The Duomo. Domestic and Communal Buildings. The Badia. The Island of Méleda.

Corcyra nigra, black with the pine-woods that still largely cover its surface, the modern Curzola, retains like Lesina numerous cairns and sepulchral monuments of its inhabitants in prehistoric times[1]. Little is known of its early colonization: Greek coins are found at Blatta in the interior according to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and a Greek inscription on a tablet which was ploughed up there in 1883 has been published by Professor Vid Vuletić Vukasović of Curzola[2]. He has also published another

[1] Farlati, tom. vi. p. 363, 'acervos saxorum, qui in superciliis montium adhuc extant, subterraneis loculis impositos.'

[2] It is given me by Prof. Vid. Vuletić Vukasović as follows :— ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΩ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΟΥΙΟΟ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΗ. The tablet was about two feet high, and had a kind of orna-

consisting of about a hundred names from a tablet of which five fragments were found at Lombarda near Curzola, the rest, which contained the purport of the inscription, being unhappily lost[1].

In the tenth century Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the island as belonging to the Serbs of Pagania, that is to the Narentines, and he says there was a town on it[2] so that, like the neighbouring island of Pharos, Curzola had it would seem lost the old Latin civilization and become a Slavonic community. The Curzolani were the first people who offered resistance to the expedition of Pietro Orseolo II in 998, and they were reduced by him to submission[3]. Like the rest of Dalmatia the island passed under Hungarian rule at the beginning of the twelfth century. It was afterwards for a time occupied by the Genoese, from whom it was recovered

mental pediment over it. Vid. Epigraphische Mittheilungen, Vienna, 1884, p. 87.

[1] There exists at Curzola, in the possession of the family Dimitri, a MS. history of Curzola by Dr. Antonio Paulini a physician of the island, written about 1750. Extracts from it are in process of publication by Prof. Vid. Vuletić Vukasović, who has been good enough to furnish me with the proof-sheets of which I have made great use. I have also to thank him and the Canonico Don Antonio Alibranti of Curzola for numerous valuable extracts from the local chroniclers Padre Riceputi, Giovanni de Zorzi, and Pietro Dimitri, whose works exist only in manuscript, and are preserved at Curzola in the libraries of the families Capor, Boschi, and Dimitri.

[2] Const. Porph. de adm. Imp. ch. xxxvi. Vid. sup. vol. I. p. 17, note.

[3] 'Ciurzolae insulae habitatores suis recusantes parere jussionibus valida manu acquisivit, suaeque potestati subjugavit.' And. Dandolo, Chron. lib. ix. c. i. pars xxviii.

for the Venetians in 1129 by Popone Zorzi, a Venetian patrician, with an armament fitted out at his own expense; to whom and to his heirs the Republic granted the government of the island, as an encouragement to other citizens to undertake similar enterprises. The Curzolani however did not submit to the Zorzi with a good grace, and maintained their independence against not only the Venetians but also the dukes of Chelmo. The statute of 1214, said to be the oldest in Dalmatia, has no name of any count prefixed, nor that of the Venetian republic, but runs simply in the name '*Comunis et hominum civitatis et insulae Curzolae . . . per minus et majus et generale consilium ejusdem civitatis et insulae.*' In 1254, however, the Curzolani elected for their count Marsilio Zorzi, at that time the Venetian count of Ragusa and Méleda, which island was then dependent on Ragusa. Marsilio however tried to change his elective magistracy into an hereditary principality, and after two years he was expelled by the Curzolani. Trying to re-establish himself by force of arms he was worsted and wounded and lost his standard, in place of which he hoisted the bloody bandage from his wounded limb, the likeness of which, a fascia or fess gules on an argent field, was thenceforth blazoned on the family escutcheon[1]. Defeated at first, he withdrew to a strong position round which he rallied his

[1] And. Dandolo, lib. x. c. vii. pars 1, also Farlati, tom. vi. p. 364; Paulini, Excerpt. p. 6; Galvani, Il Rè d' armi, vol. ii. p. 91. The former scutcheon of the Zorzi was chequered or and gules.

followers, and being supported by the country-people, between whom and the townspeople there seems to have been no sympathy, he finally regained the town and the whole island. With this event the independence of Curzola came to an end, and the island was thenceforth held by the family of Zorzi as feudatories of the Serene Republic. The rule of Marsilio was not undisturbed, but it was supported by the Venetians, who in 1262 sent Giacomo Grimani as provveditore or count to settle the disputes by which the island was agitated. The proclamation of his authority was addressed to the Latini et Sclavi of the island[1], an interesting distinction, affording another instance of the tendency of the urban population of Dalmatia to became latinized even when, as at Curzola, they probably came from the same Slavonic stock as the rural population[2].

Marsilio bequeathed his rights to his successor Ruggero Zorzi, making the Republic of St. Mark his testamentary executor. Ruggero was confirmed in his position by the Senate in 1271–2; and although no hereditary right in the Zorzi was ever

[1] Quoted in full by Lucio, de Reg. iv. viii. p. 174.

[2] I append to this chapter the text of the engagement sworn to by Marsilio and the Comune of Curzola in 1265, recognising an hereditary right in his heirs, subject, in case of dispute or incapacity, to the decision of the Procurators of the republic of St. Mark, or the Doge in council. I am indebted to the kindness of Canonico Don Andrea Alibranti of Curzola for a copy of this interesting document. It has been published in a volume containing statutes of Curzola from 1214–1558, by Prof. Dr. J. J. Hanel, Zagabria (=Agram), 1877.

formally acknowledged by the Venetians, the countship in fact descended from father to son in that family until the island ceased to be Venetian territory in the fourteenth century.

In 1298 the great naval battle took place off Curzola in which the Venetians were defeated by the Genoese and the provveditore Andrea Dandolo was taken prisoner, who, to avoid an ignominious exposure in chains, dashed out his brains against the side of the galley.

Marino Zorzi succeeded his father Ruggero in 1300, and was afterwards elected Doge of Venice. In 1301 the bishopric of Curzola was founded in a somewhat singular way, the Curzolani inviting Giovanni Crosio, bishop of Stagno, to leave that see which was made uncomfortable for him by the Bogomiles, and to establish himself at Curzola, on condition that he should at his own expense procure the papal licence, and defend any suit that might be brought by the bishop of Lesina, in whose diocese Curzola had hitherto been included. The consent of Pope Boniface VIII was obtained in 1301, three years after he had established the new bishopric of Sebenico at the instance of Maria of Hungary queen of Naples, and the counts of Bribir. The new diocese of Curzola included the island itself and the neighbouring islets or *scogli*, and until 1541 was united with that of Stagno, and, like it, subject to the metropolitan of Ragusa. The Ragusans long complained of the inconvenience of this union, Stagno being in their territory, and Curzola

in that of a foreign power; and in 1541, after the death of Nicolò Niconizio the eighteenth bishop of Stagno and Curzola, the Ragusans obtained from Pope Paul III a decree for the division of the sees. Curzola was at the same time removed from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ragusa[1]. The bishopric continued till 1806, when it was suppressed on the death of Bishop Giuseppe Cossevich, and the island was once more attached to the see of Lesina.

The last count of the Zorzi family under the suzerainty of the Republic was Zuane Zorzi, who on Feb. 28, 1358, was commissioned by the Senate to surrender the island to Lewis of Hungary in pursuance of the treaty of Zara. In vain did the Zorzi plead their ancient rights by virtue of the will of Marsilio, and apply for compensation first to Venice and then to Hungary; for it was decided by both powers that the Zorzi had no hereditary rights, but had merely governed as officers of the Republic, that is to say, as counts or rectors, not as '*signori.*'

Under Lewis and his daughter Maria and her husband Sigismund, from 1358 to 1382, the island was governed for Hungary by counts of Lesina and Curzola, who sometimes included Brazza and Almissa within their jurisdiction. During the disputes about the succession to the Hungarian throne between Maria and Charles III the documents cited by Paulini have no royal name prefixed, nor does

[1] Farlati, vi. p. 388.

any reappear till the marriage of Maria and Sigismund in 1388, an interesting illustration of the perplexed current of affairs. To documents of 1390 and 1391 is prefixed the name of 'our most serene Prince and Lord Stephen Tvartko, *D. G. Raxie Boxne Dalmatie Maritimeque Rex Inclitus.*' That of Sigismund reappears in 1393: Ladislaus of Naples instituted a count in 1404; Hervoye duke of Spalato held the countship from 1408 to 1413, governing the island by vice-counts until his disgrace, after which the name of Sigismund again reappears on the public documents, his elevation to the Empire being duly observed in the change of style.

In the summer of 1413 Curzola with Lesina and Brazza was given by Sigismund, as has been related above[1], to the republic of Ragusa, the first Ragusan count of Curzola being Michele de Menze[2]. During the Ragusan occupation the name of Sigismund is prefixed to the public acts, the islands being held by the Ragusan republic from the Emperor in return for an annual rent. In 1417 Curzola, like Lesina, was surrendered to Ladislao Jakša, 'Governor of Dalmatia and Count of the Islands,' and the Ragusan dominion came to an abrupt end.

In 1420 Curzola finally passed with the rest of Dalmatia under Venetian rule, the people spontaneously declaring for the Republic on April 24, and swearing fealty in their cathedral, the first to

[1] Vid. supra, p. 209. [2] Boglić, Lesina, p. 97.

take the oath being the rector Dubroslavo di Pietro.

On the return of Venetian dominion the Zorzi once more reappeared with their ancient claims, which were once more dismissed on the ground that they had not been *signori* but only *rettori*, and all that was awarded them by way of compensation was a grant for six years of the castle of Zumella in the Trevisan. The name of Zorzi often appears subsequently in the list of Venetian counts of Curzola, but their pretensions to the lordship of the island were never revived.

In August 1485, during the war between Innocent VIII and Ferdinand I of Naples, in which the Venetians secretly supported the Pope, Curzola was attacked by the Catalan troops, who ravaged the territory and besieged the town. The citizens however defended themselves stoutly under their count Zorzi Viaro, and drove the invaders to their ships, capturing their camp and military engines. Several shields taken from the enemy were till lately to be seen suspended in the cathedral as trophies of this victory.

That Curzola prospered under Venetian rule is shewn by the many public and private buildings with which it was at this time embellished. Between 1420 and 1570 the duomo was enlarged, the campanile built, the *palazzo pubblico* and that of the count erected, public wells were made, the streets and squares paved, tribunals and *loggie* provided, and the streets adorned with numerous fine houses

of beautiful architecture which still remain, though here, as at Lesina, often in ruins. Here as there, the winged lion of St. Mark meets the eye at every turn, frowning from every bastion not always with the word PAX on his book, and presiding over every loggia, piazza, and public palace.

In 1571 the Turkish corsair Uliz-Ali, fresh from the capture of Dulcigno Antivari and Budua, appeared in force before Curzola, which had been abandoned by the Venetian governor Antonio Balbi, who had withdrawn the garrison and fled to Zara under pretence of seeking reinforcements. Only two hundred men capable of bearing arms remained within the walls, but the city was saved by the resolution of this slender garrison, under the command, according to Farlati, of the archdeacon Rosaneo, and aided by the heroism of the women and boys, who served their defenders with powder and shot and helped in keeping watch. To disguise their numerical weakness they arrayed the women and non-combatants in armour and shewed them on the walls, and Uliz-Ali, thinking the garrison stronger than it really was, and finding the siege likely to take more time than he could afford, withdrew his forces on the second day. Before his departure he gave the Borgo to the flames, and then sailed to the easier conquest of Lesina, which he sacked and burned as has been related[1]. Some of the Turkish cannon-balls were for a long time pre-

[1] The Archdeacon Rosaneo wrote an account of the defence from which Farlati quotes. Tom. vi. p. 393.

served as trophies in the cathedral, and one may still be seen at the Comune.

The two ports between which the town is placed, with the safe haven of Porto Pedocchio close by, offered such superior convenience that, in 1776, the Venetians transferred their arsenal from Lesina to Curzola, the latter place also being better situated for watching the lower coasts of Dalmatia and the Turks. The pinewoods with which about four-fifths of the island[1] are to this day covered supplied the navy with timber, and Curzola became the principal naval station and arsenal of the Venetians in these waters.

During the great European war Curzola was occupied alternately by the Russians and the French. The English took it in 1813, and governed it till the peace of 1815, when, like the rest of Dalmatia, it was ceded to Austria. It is gratifying to an Englishman to find that here as elsewhere in Dalmatia where the people have had experience of our rule they remember it with pleasure. We read with interest the proclamations of the English Governor, and the regulations he drew up for the government of the city by a council of citizens under his presidency, perhaps the only taste of local self-government enjoyed by the Curzolani since the 13th century. Under English rule the quay was begun if not completed, and the handsome road laid out which runs along the northern shore

[1] Sir G. Wilkinson, i. p. 251, says that out of 57,130 acres 43,471 are covered with pinewoods.

as far as Lombarda, passing on the way a fine hemicycle of stone seats with an inscription in honour of the English Governor under whose auspices these improvements were effected :—

PETRO LOWEN
CUJUS FELICIB^{S}. AUSP^{S}
HOC CIVIB^{S} SOLATIU^{M}
VIAQ · HAEC CURIB^{S} APTA
INCOLIS OMNIBUS
COM̄ODO ET UTILITATI
CONSTRUCTA
LIBERTATE FERVENS
HOC GRATI ANIMI
TESTIMONIUM
COM̃TAS CURZOLENSIS
POSTERIS TRADENDUM
DESSIGNAVIT
MDCCCXV.

We left Lesina in the evening; the day had been fine, but after sunset the rain came down again pitilessly, and the lightning was vivid and incessant. It was half-past eleven before we hove to in the narrow channel which divides the town of Curzola from the mainland, and saw the lanterns of the little boats that were to fetch us off come travelling like glow-worms through the darkness. At any time of day and in any weather this landing in little boats is a nuisance, but it is a veritable penance when it is pitch dark and the sky seems

falling in solid sheets of water. Our luggage was got on deck, and stood pitiably in the rain which threatened to dissolve it into pulp, and when it had been safely passed over the side, and we had satisfied ourselves that none of it had been dropped into the sea, we groped our way after it down the slippery ladder, hoping to be equally fortunate ourselves. The boat was half-full of water, and after landing we had to tramp a quarter of a mile in the rain along a badly-lighted quay to the custom-house with all our luggage on the backs of the boatmen, and then all the way back again to the sea-gate of the town, where the familiar lion of St. Mark seemed to greet us as an old friend; and it was long after midnight before we reached the humble inn, where we found a very tolerable room had been prepared for us, on the floor of which our three porters, ourselves, and our damp luggage were soon making a very respectable puddle.

Curzola occupies an oval peninsula[1] jutting forward boldly towards the opposite shore of Sabbioncello, and united to the main bulk of the island by a spit of low ground. On the summit of the hill which constitutes the peninsula stands the duomo with an imposing campanile, forming a worthy apex to the pile of buildings that climb the hill-side from the sea-shore (Plate XXXIII). The principal gate

[1] Farlati, vi. p. 367, compares its shape to a human heart, and quotes a poet who amuses himself by deriving Corcula, one form of the name of the island, from its shape :—

'Et parvi cordis moenia nomen habent.'

CURZOLA.

T.G.J.

"INK-PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON.

Plate XXXIII.

is at the isthmus, and the High Street of the town leads thence along the ridge of the peninsula to the small Piazza del duomo in the heart of the town. From this central artery narrow streets run steeply down on either side towards the sea, consisting of flights of steps alternating with inclined planes, and not unfrequently bridged across by archways and galleries from house to house. The old town walls have been partly removed, and a wide quay now surrounds the whole peninsula with a pleasant promenade; but the walls remain tolerably perfect on the north side, and many of the old bastions elsewhere have survived the removal of their connecting curtains. More than one line of defences can be traced, especially near the land gate, where the lofty Gothic 'Torre Lombardo,' built in 1448, stands behind and within a great bastion some half century its junior. When perfect the whole circuit of walls must have been formidable enough to explain the disinclination of Uliz-Ali to attack the city.

Space is too valuable within the walls to allow of a large piazza in front of the duomo, and it is difficult to get far enough away from the facade to judge of its effect; but like all the building it is very interesting, and may even without exaggeration be pronounced beautiful. There is a large proportion of plain wall space, which gives value to the few architectural features and enhances the refinement of their workmanship; and there is true artistic feeling in the gradual increase in richness

towards the upper part, the great gable being splendid with cornices and finials, while the campanile, plain and almost featureless till near the top, bursts suddenly into magnificence with an arcaded parapet of trefoiled arches, from which rises a graceful lantern or belvedere of two octagonal stories resting on clustered columns, and finishing with an enormous vane rod whose branching arms are furnished each with a triple set of balls like the crosses over Greek churches. Unlike the generality of southern campaniles this tower is not isolated from the church, but joined on to it, forming part of the facade, and partly obliterating the western end of the north aisle, which once evidently ran out to the front and corresponded with the lean-to aisle on the south. This arrangement was obviously dictated by want of space, and the same reason will explain the curious obliquity of the whole facade which forms an acute angle with the south side, producing a strangely exaggerated perspective effect (Plate XXXIV), while the campanile again is placed in a different plane to the rest of the front. It is evident the architect was driven to economise every inch of ground.

The features of the facade proper are a doorway, a round window above, and a highly-enriched gable cornice. The doorway is a good piece of Italian Gothic, with spirally twisted jamb shafts and square capitals carrying a pointed arch in two orders, the principal mouldings of which are cabled in continuation of the spiral jamb shafts. There is a square

T.G.J.

The Duomo.

INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & Co LONDON

lintel, and the tympanum is pierced with a window quite like German or French doorways, in the centre of which is a statue of St. Mark, a later addition. The strangest part of the design is the pair of huge brackets jutting forward above the springing of the door arch, and supported by coupled and knotted shafts. From the analogy of many Italian porches one would expect these to carry a semicircular hood or canopy, and in fact a semicircular arch is traced on the wall by a projecting moulding; but instead of anything of this kind they carry two couchant lions of that conventional type that does such good service in Italian porches, though here they serve no purpose at all. Figures of Adam and Eve are carved on the brackets, and preside over the entrance of the church as they do at Traü and Sebenico.

The rose-window above is, as Mr. Freeman observes, 'not a mere wheel; the diverging lines run off into real tracery, such as we might see either in England or France[1].'

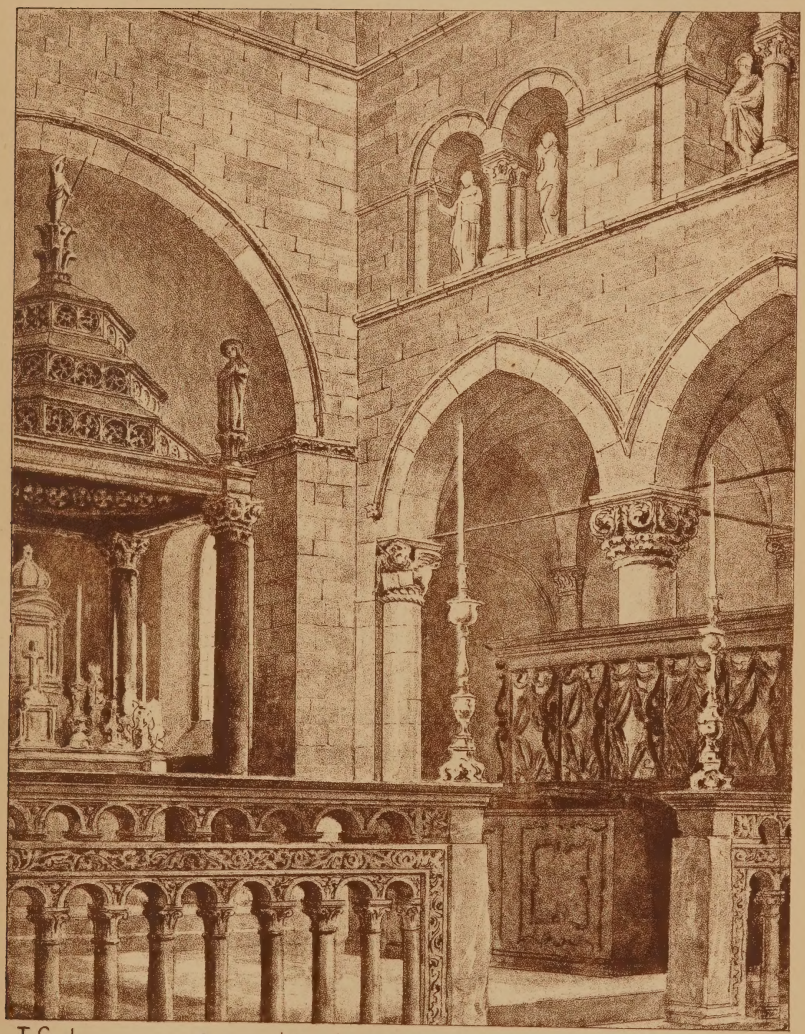
The cornice that crowns the pediment is very rich and not a little puzzling; parts of it, especially the knots of interlaced monsters, and the trefoil tracery at the springing of the gable, seem genuine Gothic work; but what can we make of the frill of little arches that run up the raking lines, each filled with the scallop-shell dear to the renaissance architect, while the running leaf-pattern above them, and the rich finial on the apex cannot but be of

[1] Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, p. 209. E. A. Freeman.

Gothic workmanship? Evidently things cannot be here in their original state.

In the centre of the gable, occupying the very point of it, is a female head which has exercised the ingenuity of the curious for several generations. Spon, writing in 1688, whose simplicity saw in the duomo of Curzola a building of the Emperor Diocletian, says he was told it was a bust of the wife of that emperor, for which however he would not vouch, as her face was not known to him on medals or in antique statuary. Farlati[1] thinks it represents Maria, daughter of the Emperor Lascaris, and wife of Bela IV who reigned from 1234 to 1270. Dr. Paulini thinks it represents Maria of Hungary, queen of Charles II of Naples, who may have used her influence with the Pope for the establishment of this bishopric, as she did for that of Sebenico, and whom the grateful citizens may have commemorated in this way. Maria died in 1323. Others suppose the bust to represent Elizabeth, the wife of Lewis the Great, who was murdered at Novigrad in 1387, or Maria her daughter, the wife of Sigismund, who died in 1395. A general tradition prevails that the church was built with the aid of a grant of money from a queen of Hungary, but the date of the building and the identity of the queen are equally matters of dispute among all who have written about the matter. The figure, which seems evidently intended for a portrait, represents a woman no longer young, with wrinkled

[1] Tom. vi. 368.



T.G.J

Interior of Duomo.

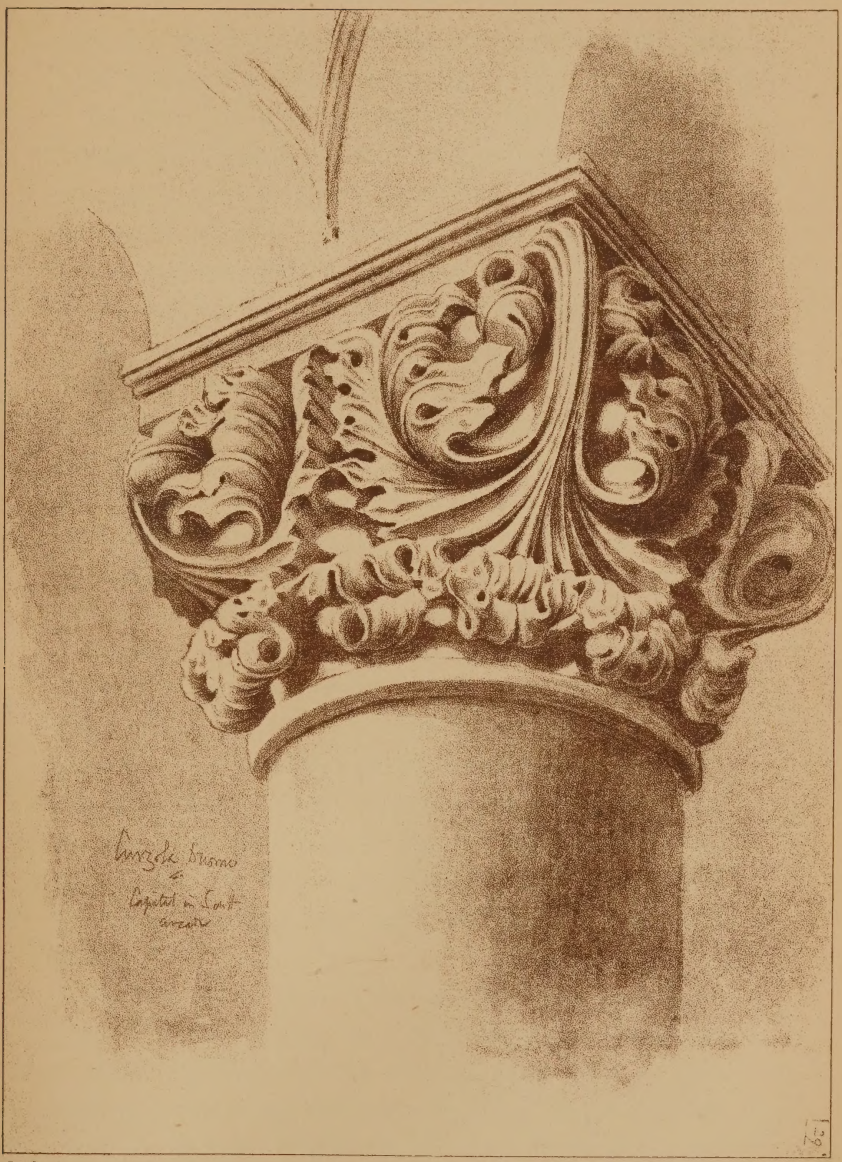
INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON.

forehead and deep lines in the cheeks, and therefore cannot be the *youngest* queen Maria, who died at the age of twenty-five. The hair is elaborately carved, and stands away from the face on each side in a mass of curls, and the head is encircled by a jewelled band. The gown is pleated, and has tight-fitting sleeves, slashed, and is finished with an embroidered border round the neck within which appears an under-garment laced up at the throat. The costume is that of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and the figure may therefore stand for the *second* Maria of Hungary, who at the time of her death, in 1323, must have been at least seventy years old[1].

The interior of the church (Plate XXXV) offers as many problems as the outside. The plan consists of a nave of five bays with side aisles ending eastward in three round apses. The bays of the aisles are square, cross-groined without diagonal ribs, but with flat wide transverse arches to divide bay from bay. These arches, and also those opening to the nave, are pointed, and are tied by iron rods both lengthways and across. The nave was never vaulted, but had an open timber roof which was not hidden by the present flat plaster ceiling till the beginning of the present century, when the church was sadly spoiled by the last bishop of Curzola. Above the nave arcades is a triforium consisting of two-light open-

[1] I do not know the year of her birth, but at the time of her husband's accession in 1284 her eldest son Carlo Martello was in his thirteenth year. Vid. Giannone, l. xx and xxi.

ings with short coupled columns set one behind the other in the thickness of the wall. Above this, again, is a clerestory of single-light windows with a trefoil cusp. The triforium openings were closed, and the clerestory windows mutilated internally by the same bishop who spoiled the ceiling. The apses open to the body of the church with round arches, and are covered with half-domes. There is a savour of northern Gothic perceptible in the pointed arches of the nave springing from widely spreading capitals, and in the triple arrangement of arcade triforium and clerestory, the triforium, though now blocked, having once been a real triforium open to the roof space over the aisle vaults. Round and pointed arches are used at random, the triforium arches being round, while the nave arches below and the clerestory windows above are pointed. The nave is five bays long, but the space of one bay on the north side is occupied by the tower, which even encroaches on the next arch. The columns are monoliths, not tapered, and they rest on tall Attic bases with square plinths and leaves at the angles. They carry massive spreading capitals with shallow square abaci, which vary widely both in design and date. The capitals of the four angle responds are formed of the Evangelistic emblems; the lion of St. Mark occupies the south-east respond with the motto PAX TIBI, &c. in Lombardic letters on his book, and he stands on waves of the sea; St. Matthew is hidden by the gallery; St. Luke, who occupies the north-west respond, is finely de-



T.G.J.

Capital in Duomo.

signed; but St. John, at the north-east corner, has been clumsily repaired after injury by lightning in 1783, and his abacus bears the date 1788. The foliage introduced below the figures is of Venetian character, corresponding with that of the capitals in the south arcade. These are rather coarsely executed, and resemble in character those in the nave at Sebenico, though inferior to them in point of execution. The best is that shewn in the illustration (Plate XXXVI), which, though roughly carved, is finely imagined. Four leaves make the whole capital. The three capitals of the north arcade on the contrary are rudely cut and abound in cornucopias, volutes, grotesque semifigures with large breasts and wigs springing out of leaves, all in the debased style of the seventeenth century. With the aid of a glass I detected on the necking of one of them the date 1670, though the necking had the regular Venetian billet moulding of the fifteenth century. Their presence in the midst of a perfectly Gothic design can only be explained by some extensive rebuilding or repair of this side of the church of which no record can be found in Paulini's MS., nor could the local antiquaries help me to any account of it.

At the end of the north aisle is a very handsome door (Fig. 58) leading to the sacristy, in which the northern feeling I have noticed elsewhere in this church is strongly marked, for, after making allowance for certain differences, the architectural details and the general style of the design are thoroughly

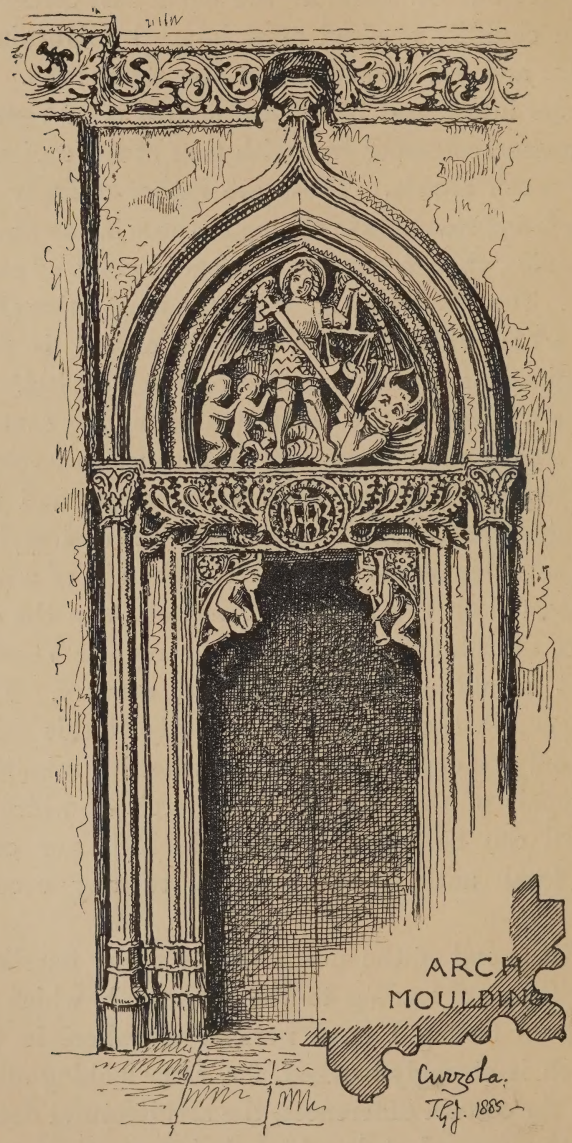


Fig. 58.

German[1]. In the tympanum is St. Michael, who is dispatching a very frightful devil with a very long sword. In his left hand he holds the scales, at one of which the vanquished fiend makes a despairing clutch; while behind stand two souls, represented by naked children, awaiting judgment. The arch of the tympanum is pointed and slightly horseshoed, but the label, which runs up into a slight ogee point, is not horseshoed, but rises perpendicularly from the shaft which carries it. This shaft is of course not in accordance with true northern Gothic principles, but the mouldings of the jambs and arch have far more relation to northern than to southern Gothic; the rolls have fillets on them, the necking of the capital and upper moulding of the base are broken out to receive the fillet as they would be in northern work, and the tall proportion of the moulded bases reminds one of Vienna or Cologne. The lintel is supported by a pair of brackets, each decorated with the figure of a boy playing on a musical instrument, one on drum and pipe, the other on a zampogna or bag-pipe. Above the doorway the original carved stringcourse that runs round the church has been cut away to make room for the finial, shewing that the doorway is an insertion of later date than the church wall.

The campanile, which has been already described,

[1] There was a German architect at work in Curzola in 1388. In that year the Rettore and Giudici contracted with Jo. di Ant°. da Viena 'facere unam logiam apud Ecclesiam Stæ. Mariæ.' Mem. di Pietro Dimitri, MS. This loggia is no longer in existence.

has obliterated one bay of the original north aisle, leaving a fragment of the sloping roof and coping to prove that this aisle did once come out to the front. It is said by Giov. de Zorzi, a chronicler of Curzola, that the campanile was begun directly after the surrender of the island to the Venetians in 1420. In 1438 the Comune of Curzola sold to the brothers Angeli a property at Blatta to purchase with the proceeds stone for the campanile, and in 1440 they made a contract for its completion with a 'lapicida,' architect and contractor in one, named Vatco Bratcovich[1]; but as the arms of Bishop Tommaso Malumbra appear on the belvedere or gallery which crowns the campanile the work cannot have been completed before 1463.

The latest part of the building is a fourth aisle added on the north side, which was provided to afford additional space for interment within the

[1] The contract runs thus:—'JESUS. 1440, Ind. 3ª et die 22 mensis Junii in Episcopali Palatio praesentibus f Marco Giglazovich et magistro Faticho Vicarich Testibus ibique Magister Vatcus Bratcovich Lapicida et cum Rmo. in Christo Patre et Domino nostro Dei et Apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Curzolensis et Stagnensis Ecclesiae Domino Marco Martich et f Joanne Petri Procuratoribus Ecclae̅ divi Marci concessit et concordavit ad laborandum et fabricandum ac aptandum Campanile dictae ecclesiae S. Marci ad laudem boni laboratoris et Magistri simul cum uno magistro et ejus discipulo incipiendo a prima die mensis Julii proximi venturi usque per totum mensem Octobris et ante plus quanto praedicto Dn̄o Episcopo et dictis Procuratoribus melius et utilius videbitur. Versa vice dictus Dn̄us Episcopus et Procuratores promiserunt solvere die quolibet prout ante habuit cum laboravit supra dictum campanile L. (?) 29, &c.' *P. Dimitri, MS.*

church walls. It was apparently completed before 1532 as it is alluded to in the testament of Ser Vincenzo Michieli Dobrić dated in that year ;—'*item voluit et ordinavit quod per cōmisarios suos fiat unum altare in ecc̄la S. Marci in Coemeterio noviter confecto* ;' but as the portal bears the arms not only of Bishop Nicolò Niconizio (1515–1541) but also those of Bishop Leoni (1453–1462), the building seems to have been projected and probably begun in the preceding century[1]. It is said to occupy the site of the public loggia which was pulled down to make way for it.

The main fabric of the nave and aisles is unfortunately the part about which we are most in want of documentary evidence to guide us to the date of its construction. Here as elsewhere in Dalmatia the tendency of the local antiquaries is to exaggerate the antiquity of their buildings, and though the theory of the temple of Diocletian has been given up since the date of Dr. Spon's visit, the church has been assigned by various writers to any period from the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century. The oldest known documents which contain any mention of it are the deed of sale of a house in 1329, which is described as standing next to and behind the church of S. Marco, and other

[1] Farlati says this aisle was built to cover a cemetery 'quod erat sub Dio,' in which were interred the plebeian victims of the plague of 1571, their noble fellow-sufferers having exhausted the space in the south aisle of the church, the older cemetery. But this is contradicted by the episcopal scutcheons over the door and by the testament of 1532.

deeds bearing the dates 1342 and 1344, which contain the names of canons of the church of S. Marco in Curzola[1]. From these documents we gather that a collegiate church of S. Marco existed early in the fourteenth century, and this no doubt was the cathedral of the new see, and the college of canons was the same which Farlati mentions as founded by the new prelate. The question remains whether the present church is the same which was then standing, and if so whether it was an old or a new church at that time. On this point the building must speak for itself, and unfortunately in Dalmatia the styles do not speak for themselves so positively as they do elsewhere.

The romanesque style, as we have seen at Zara Spalato and Traü, prevailed in Dalmatia throughout the thirteenth and well into the fourteenth century; and since at Curzola, though the round arch undoubtedly occurs, there is nothing that can be called romanesque, for the pointed arches of the nave and the wide windows of the apse are obviously later than the round arches and narrow slits of Traü or Zara, we may safely fix the earlier part of the fourteenth century as one limit of the period during

[1] In Dr. Paulini's MS. Storia di Curzola, c. xxii.

'Anno Dñi. M.CCCXXIX. Indict. xii. Tempore dictorum Jacobi Sanoje et Berci Judicum vendidit domum unam positam intus in civitate Curzulae juxta et post ecclesiam S. Marci,' &c., &c.

'1342. die 22 Octobris actum Curzulae in domo episcopatus Curzulae . . . praesentibus praesbyteris Marinich Canonico Eccl. S. Marci in Curzula,' &c., &c.

1344. Extract from testament of Niksa Vulićevich: 'Item relinquo Dño Georgio Canonico S. Marci de Curzula,' &c., &c.

which the church may have been built. On the other hand we have the fact that part of the original building was pulled down to make way for the campanile in 1420, or at the latest 1440, and this fixes the other limit. Consequently the erection of the nave and aisles took place during a period limited approximately by the years 1300 and 1420. As the beginning of this period coincides with the institution of the bishopric, a natural inference would be that the Curzolani set about building their cathedral as soon as they received their new bishop, that is to say about 1300; but the puzzle is to find anything in the building that can safely be referred to so early a date. Although on one hand, from the analogy of the building known as the Sponza at Ragusa, the apses nave arcades and triforium might be attributed to that date, on the other the sculpture within and without the church seems to be nearly a hundred years later: for if the west doorway and the nave capital (Plates XXXIV and XXXVI) be compared with the doorway and capital at Sebenico (Plates XIII and XIV, Vol. I. pp. 384, 388), of which the date is known to lie between 1430 and 1441, there will seem to be every reason for attributing them to the fifteenth century rather than the fourteenth.

If then the main fabric of the church was built during the fourteenth century, we have to account for the fact that the nave capitals date from the middle of the following century. It is on record that a great deal was done to the building by Bishop

Andrea Canavella (1450–1453), and by Vito Ostoich, who from being a canon of Curzola had been promoted to the see of Corbavia, which he resigned in 1453, and who came to end his days in his native place, where he died in 1459. The roof was found to be in a decayed and dangerous condition and was replaced by a new one, possibly that which is now hidden by the stucco ceiling of Bishop Cossevich; new altars were given by Bishop Ostoich, and a new pulpit of fine Curzolan stone on eight columns, which was also destroyed by the same bishop Cossevich and replaced by a modern vulgarism[1]. These repairs must also have extended to the main structure, for to this date at the earliest must be attributed the oldest capitals of the nave (Plate XXXVI), the west doorway, the rose-window of the west front, and the elaborate cornice of arches and shells in the gable above, in which however are worked up parts of the older work, namely the springing stones with their groups of monsters, and the finial, together with the band of running foliage which agrees with that in the aisles. The mysterious bust in the centre, if it represents as I imagine Maria

[1] Farlati, vi. p. 368, mentions the extensive repairs made by Bishop Canavella, and the gifts of Bishop Ostoich. In another place he says of Ostoich that 'cum aedes Cathedralis Corcyrensis vitium fecisset ad eam restaurandam plurimum pecuniae suppeditavit.' It would not surprise me if it were found that the church was nearly rebuilt at this time, and that little of the original church of 1300 remains except the east end with its apses and the lower part of the side walls. The capitals of the wall shafts in the aisle are as late as those of the arcade, i.e. of the fifteenth century.

the queen of Charles II, must have been reset at the same time in the new gable, where it must be confessed it has the air of being somewhat out of place.

From this time forward the history of the building is less obscure. In the seventeenth century some injury to the north side of the church, perhaps a stroke of lightning such as afterwards befell it, made it necessary to renew the three capitals of the north arcade, on one of which as I have said I detected the date 1670. In 1715, and again in 1783, the tower was seriously injured by lightning, which threw down one of the angles, destroyed the clock, and, entering the church, injured the organ and organ-loft, and on the latter occasion also damaged the respond with the emblem of St. John, as I have before mentioned.

The last bishop of Curzola, Giuseppe Cossevich, however did much more damage than the lightning: he removed the marble balustrades from the side intercolumniations of the baldacchino and placed the top rails absurdly, as we now see them, on the balustrades at the entrance of the choir; he blocked the triforium arches, spoiled the clerestory windows, destroyed the pulpit, concealed the old roof by a plaster ceiling, and white-washed the whole church, an indignity from which it has lately been rescued.

Another piece of mischief of which he was guilty was to obliterate the epitaph on the sarcophagus of Bishop Malumbra and substitute another to the memory of two later bishops, whose remains he removed from the nave and placed here. The

original inscription[1] recorded the erection of the monument by Bishop Nicolò Niconizio to the memory of his predecessor

THOMAE MALVMBRAE EPISCOPO CVRZOLENSI
ET STAGNENSI PRAECESSORI NICOLAVS NICONISIVS
EPISCOPVS SVCCESSOR POSVIT.

The arms of Malumbra and Niconizio within wreaths still remain on the sarcophagus.

The exterior of the apses is remarkable for a number of mason's marks which are collected very curiously into a cluster in the middle of each apse wall. They look as if they were grouped in this manner with some intention, but if so no explanation of it has been found. The marks themselves have the forms of Greek letters, but this probably is accidental; Greek letters are the result of simple combinations of lines, and English masons may be seen any day marking their stones with Greek letters without knowing it. The masonry is well squared and laid in regular courses, the face being hammer-dressed or pointed, and left slightly rough, except that there is a clean drafted edge about an inch in width round each stone. The mason's mark is in the middle of the rough part. The marks are shewn on the accompanying cut (Fig. 59) in their proper relative positions, though not at their proper dis-

[1] It is preserved by Farlati, vi. 387. Tommaso Malumbra of a noble Venetian family was bishop from 1463–1515. Nicolò Niconizio a Curzolano was coadjutor from 1505–1515 and bishop from 1515–1541. He was the last bishop of the united sees of Stagno and Curzola.

SOUTHERN APSE
MIDDLE APSE.
NORTHERN APSE
2nd course.
7th course

Fig. 59.

tance apart, the stones being large and the marks very small[1].

A very picturesque object in the interior is the ciborio or baldacchino over the high altar, a pyramidal composition of three receding stories pierced with geometrical tracery, and carried by four fine columns with excellent renaissance capitals, of which the two hindermost are simply imitated from Corinthian, and the two in front are well designed and executed with sphinxes and dolphins. In spite of its date the pierced work of the upper part is Gothic in character. The marble balustrading of colonnettes and round arches in the Venetian style which originally filled the intercolumniation on each side has been removed, as I have before stated.

Behind the high altar is a good picture, attributed to Tintoret, but so placed, and in such a wretched light, that it is impossible to get a fair view of it. In the fourth or northern aisle, over a side altar, is a fine picture by Ridolfi in three compartments; the figures of St. Laurence and St. Vincent are unusually good. In the treasury are a few good chalices of the fifteenth century, one of which is said to be the gift of Bishop Ostoich, and some embroidered vestments at least as old as the chalices, some of which are too far gone to be used, and are to find a place in the museum which it is proposed to establish in

[1] I am indebted to Don Andrea Alibranti for the copy of these marks from which my illustration is taken. Very similar marks from the cathedral of Gurk in Carinthia, also resembling Greek letters, are illustrated in the Mittelalt. Kunstdenk. vol. ii. p. 148.

one of the many little disused churches of the city. There are several other churches and oratories in Curzola, but none of them calls for any remark except that of Ogni Santi, where there is another ciborio very like that at the duomo, but of an even more decidedly renaissance character.

The town is full of charming bits of Venetian architecture in the best style of the fifteenth century, but the streets are so narrow that it is not always easy to see them. A ruined house in a street that runs down the eastern slope of the hill has a splendid window with carvings of birds and serpents in the capitals, which till lately was perfect with its balconies on carved brackets; but the balconies and brackets have all been sold to an American who has taken them to adorn a villa in New York, and the window itself is in danger of falling into the unclean hands of the curiosity dealers, Jew or Greek, who are even now haggling over it with the impoverished owner, the difference between them being, it is said, reduced to the question of a few florins. I believe the conservators lately appointed by the Austrian government have very sufficient powers to prevent the destruction or sale of objects of artistic interest such as this, and may call in the police to their aid if necessary. They may even override the proprietor's rights, and prohibit him from selling or destroying such objects without, so far as I know, giving him any compensation or buying the monument in question for the state. These powers ought

surely to be enough to prevent the spoliation of these interesting old towns, which without such protection will be placed by the poverty of their inhabitants at the mercy of collectors and their agents from all parts of Europe and America.

Several of the finer palaces at Curzola are roofless and in ruins, having been burned by way of disinfection after the plague, but others are still inhabited by the descendants of the ancient nobility. Among the latter is the Palazzo Arneri, which has many good architectural features, and a very splendid bronze knocker of the sixteenth century representing Neptune between two lions, which resembles the work of Giovanni da Bologna (Fig. 60). The trident which the figure grasped with his right hand has been broken away in an attempt that was once made to steal the knocker. It may be compared with the famous knocker of the Pisani palace at Venice, representing Neptune between two horses, to which it is not inferior in artistic

Fig. 60.

merit[1]. The arms of the Arneri, three pears on a field per bend azure and or, allude to the more ancient family name Perussich. Arnero Perussich fought with distinction in the Venetian service and fell at the siege of Candia; his memory was honoured by the Republic and a liberal pension granted to his family, and in his honour the family name was changed from Perussich to Arneri[2]. In the court-yard of the palace are several relics of old Venetian times, the figure-head of a galley, and a statue of the great provveditore Leonardo Foscolo[3] with the inscription LEONAR FVSCVL VIRTVTIS EFFIGIEM IACOBVS ARNERI SERVITVTIS MEMORIAM NEPOTIBVS. Signor Arneri, the present owner of the palace, was podestà of Curzola when we were there.

The public loggia and communal palace stand in the small piazza del Salizo, just within the principal town-gate. The loggia has had its arches filled with glazed sashes, but otherwise retains its original character, with the stone table of the judges, and the Venetian lion on the wall above. Over an upper window on the outside is this inscription :—

M · D · XXV · PAVLO · QVIRINO · PRAETORE.

In the same piazza is a diminutive column with the Venetian lion, which has the initials and arms of Count Battista Michieli who governed Curzola from

[1] An illustration of the Pisani knocker is given in Digby Wyatt's Metal-work of the Middle Ages.

[2] So Mr. Paton was told by the representatives of the family in 1846. Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic, i. 45.

[3] Vid. General History, vol. I. p. 159.

1569–1571, preceding Antonio Balbi the count who deserted his post on the approach of Uliz-Ali. It bears this inscription :—

Z · B · V
OPVS · VINCENTII · 9^{M}
ALVISII · DIE · XXV
IVLII · M · D ·LX · IX

The tail and wings of the lion have been broken off, an injury inflicted, according to tradition, at the downfall of the Venetian republic by a neighbouring apothecary, who owed the government a grudge, and relieved himself by thus giving a kick to the dying lion.

This little piazza and that in front of the duomo were the only two open spaces within the walls, and seem to have been the common lounge and play-ground of the citizens, who from the narrow area of the latter overflowed into the duomo itself, where they walked and talked in their ordinary tone of voice even during divine service, much to the disturbance of the clergy. The piazza was used by the citizens for games at ball, and it was here that early in the seventeenth century a future bishop of Curzola disported himself in a way that scandalized the canons[1]. This was Jacopo Faganeo, a monk from Fiesole, not less renowned for his learning and eloquence than for his urbane and popular manners. The commander of the Venetian fleet in the Adriatic, in order to enjoy his company, persuaded him to go on a cruise, and when they

[1] Farlati, vi. 401.

were in port at Curzola his companions proposed a game at ball to relieve the tedium of the voyage[1]. Jacopo willingly consented, and an adjournment was made to the Piazza del duomo, where Jacopo with his monk's gown tucked up displayed a skill and agility in receiving and returning the ball which won him enthusiastic applause from the admiring crowd of citizens. Lent was at hand, and it was proposed that the opportunity of hearing so renowned a preacher as Jacopo should not be lost, but the canons were scandalized by his performances in the piazza, and refused to admit him to their pulpit, little knowing that they were soon to receive as a bishop him whom they refused as a preacher. Yet so it was; the bishopric became vacant, and, at the instance of his friend the admiral, who had interest with Pope Urban VIII, Jacopo Faganeo was appointed bishop of Curzola in 1626. He deported himself with becoming dignity in his new position, and won golden opinions; but it may be gathered that he still preserved his old genial humour from the text which he inscribed on a pillar in his hall—'*Lapidem quem reprobaverunt hic factus est in caput anguli.*'

It rained the greater part of the time we were at Curzola, and we seldom got beyond the town. One evening we strolled out by the road made under English auspices towards Lombarda. It passes Porto Pedocchio,—'Port Lousy,'—the station of the Ve-

[1] Perhaps foot-ball was the game. '*Rogatus Jacobus a sociis quibuscum venerat velletne . . . pila majori ludere,*' &c.

netian galleys and galley-slaves, from whom it gets its name, and also the hemicycle of stone seats with the inscription put up by the grateful Curzolani in honour of the English governor[1]. The island, so far as we saw it, is much better covered with vegetation than the greater part of Dalmatia, though we did not get far enough to see the pinewoods which cover so large a part of the surface. Nor did we see any of the jackals which are to be found in Curzola, especially towards Blatta, the largest town in the island. In the sixteenth century a still less desirable animal was added to the fauna of the island by an unkind practical joke of some unfriendly neighbours. An unknown vessel one night landed a pair of wolves, whose progeny multiplied in the woods until the inhabitants were obliged to form a cordon and sweep the island. Nine wolves were killed, the last being the old she-wolf, which was driven to the promontory Privala, where an inscription with the date 1576 was cut on the rock to record her fate:—QUI È STATA UCCISA LA LUPA[2]. Although there are now no wolves on the island, jackals are still numerous, and Prof. Vuletić Vukasović once had a pair of them, but never succeeded in making them really tame. They were very handsome, with golden-coloured coats, but they howled all night when tied up, and were such a nuisance that their master was glad when a friend begged

[1] See above, page 247.

[2] The story is preserved in an unpublished work of Pietro Dimitri.

them of him. Jackals used to exist also on the neighbouring islands of Méleda and Giupana, but are now thought to be extinct there. Spon, who travelled here in 1688, heard of these wild beasts, but failed to see them. He imagined them a kind of hyæna, an animal of which the ancients fabled that it changed its sex year by year, and imitated the human voice so well as sometimes even to learn the names of the shepherds, whom by that means it enticed into an ambush and so devoured them[1].

Undismayed by these dangers we made another short excursion in the opposite direction westwards to the Dominican convent of S. Nicolò, which stands on the brink of the sea. There is not very much to see here, but the plan of the double nave is singular, and the arabesqued piers and architraves of the arcade that divides the two naves are original and suggestive. The convent was established in 1509[2], which may be the date of the building.

A more interesting excursion is that to the Badia or Franciscan convent, on a small island to the east of Curzola. On this 'scoglio' or rock, as the Dalmatians style their islets, a Benedictine convent existed in 997[3], but no traces of either convent or church remained at the beginning of the fourteenth century, both having been destroyed by pirates, and the very name of the establishment was then a matter only of popular tradition. About 1350 a

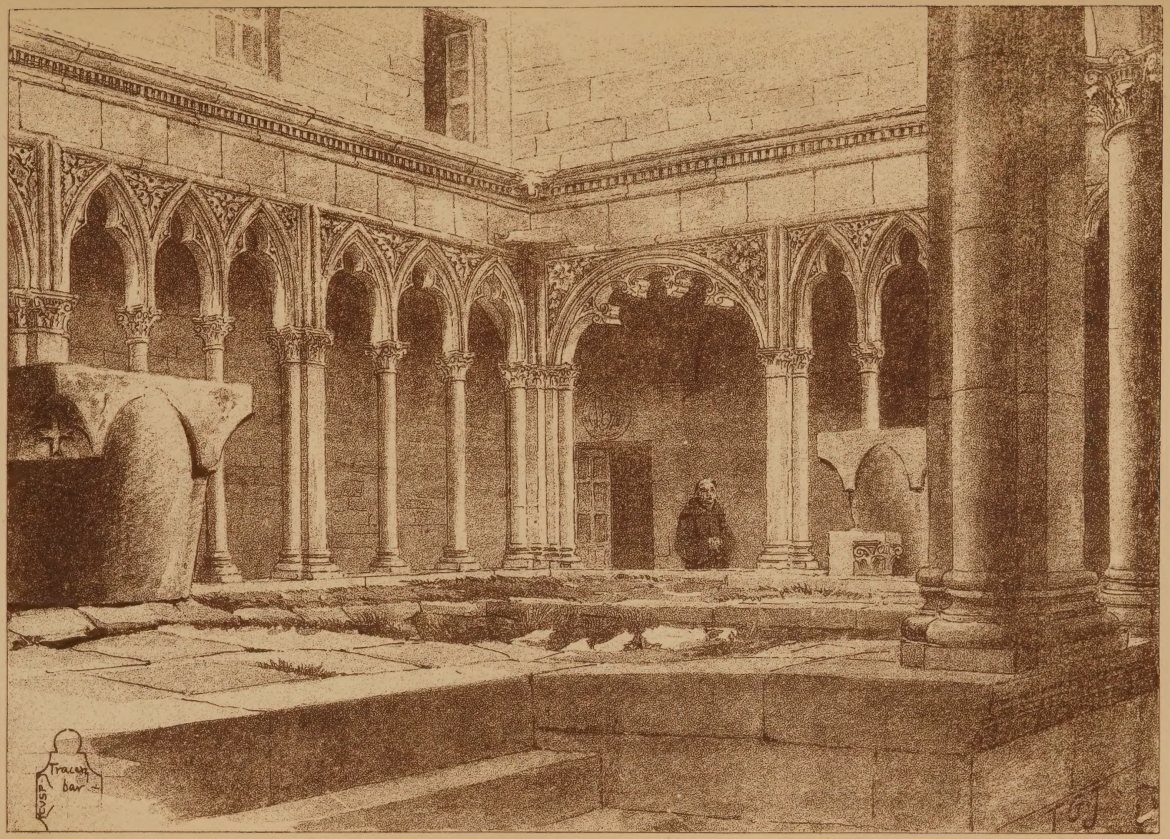
[1] Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. xxx.
[2] Paulini, Excerpt, p. 62.
[3] So says Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 101.

canon of Curzola, Biagio Ivanovich, with two companions, retired hither to lead a contemplative life, and built a church and small 'coenobium,' but after his death the island was again deserted. In 1392 the Franciscans were settled here, and in 1394 the council of Curzola, assembled to the number of forty-five by the sound of the bell as was the custom, ordered for the comfort and tranquillity of the brotherhood that no one should cut wood or sow the ground within sight of their monastery without their leave, and that their islet should not be invaded by any member of the fair sex '*nisi causa indulgentiarum.*'

The existing buildings date from the succeeding century for the most part, though the church was not consecrated till 1533.

The convent is situated out of sight of Curzola, in a little bay close to the shore, and with its campanile, cloister-walls, and angle vedette, makes a sufficiently imposing show. Through a square doorway of white marble, bordered with a cleverly twisted running pattern of leaves and flowers, we entered what is perhaps the loveliest cloister in Dalmatia (Plate XXXVII). Trefoiled arches resting on round columns with square capitals, and with a very ingenious stilt to give them sufficient importance and height, are divided by more massive piers into groups of three; and this arrangement is interrupted in two places by wide arches, richly cusped, through which steps lead to the central enclosure with its two marble cisterns. The design is light and delicate

CURZOLA.



T.G.J

Franciscan Cloister.

Plate XXVII.

without any appearance of fragility, and the result is thoroughly successful. Here too, as so frequently in Dalmatia, occurs that happy mixture of Gothic and classic forms which is so suggestive to us moderns who must of necessity be eclectic. The cusped heads, the arches, and the including mouldings are all in ordinary Venetian Gothic of the fifteenth century; but the columns on which they rest have regular Attic bases, and capitals with concave abaci and angle volutes in the early style of the renaissance, while over the arcades is something like a regular classic entablature with frieze and cornice. The date is given by an inscription on a border surrounding the monogram ihs over the door leading from the cloister to the interior of the convent :—

ANNO DOMINI MCCCCLXXVII · PRIMA · DIE · MENSIS MAII.

Sea-air and rain percolating from above have done much towards ruining this gem of Dalmatian, I may say of Gothic art. The plaster on walls and vaulting has perished, exposing the bare rubble masonry, and unless measures are promptly taken to make the terrace roof watertight the architecture may be irreparably damaged.

The church, according to Fabianich, was begun in 1493, and an inscription records its consecration in 1533 by Niconizio, bishop of Curzola and Stagno. It is very plain, and has the peculiarity of a square east end, of which there are several examples in Dalmatia. There is no east window. The chancel

is covered with a quadripartite vault on slender ribs, and the nave with a pointed waggon vault. The floor is full of incised sepulchral slabs dated 1500, 1523, 1540, &c., but there is one of earlier date (Fig. 61), to the memory of a Curzolan architect, which reads thus :—

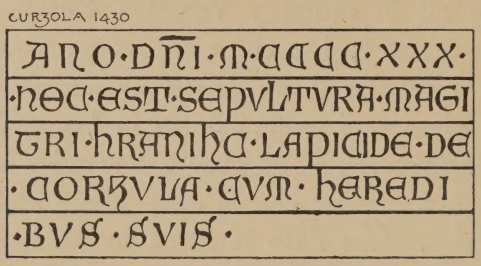


Fig. 61.

Many of these slabs bear representations of workmen's tools referring to the craft of the person interred below, the graves of masons bearing the compasses, chisel and mallet, and so on. Throughout Dalmatia these sepulchral slabs abound, and are often of considerable beauty as well as of historical interest.

There is here an ancient wooden crucifix, very fine of its kind though too painfully expressive, which is said to have been brought from Bosnia after the battle of Kossovo by refugees who fled to Rasischie on the island of Curzola [1].

The west front has a graceful door and rose-window, but the Madonna in the tympanum is of inferior workmanship. The front edge of the gable coping is

[1] Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 105.

evidently copied from that of the duomo of Curzola, with the same running pattern of foliage issuing at each end from the mouth of a sea-monster, and the finial on the apex is also imitated from the grand finial of the duomo, though the execution here is inferior and the date evidently much later. This front bears evident signs of the conflagration made by the Turks in 1571.

The library contains two amphorae found at Ragusa Vecchia, and a MS. of Aristotle written on thick vellum-like paper; also a life of St. Jerome printed at Venice in 1475 by Gabrielli Petri, and a theological work by Aslefanus de Ast (?) ordinis minorum, printed at Ratisbon in 1480, with initials illuminated by hand in gold and colour.

The Badia has suffered outrage more than once, and it was not for nothing that the little projecting vedette towards the sea was built as an outlook and defence. Uliz-Ali, failing before Curzola, revenged himself and earned an easy triumph by setting fire to this monastery and church. Again, in 1660, '*the noted pirate Bellalich of Castelnuovo with a numerous horde sacked the sacred furniture, pursued the friars who had taken refuge in the campanile, and made off after having laid hands on everything that excited devotion or adorned the sanctuary*[1].' Even as recently as 1836 the solitude of the place tempted some robbers who pillaged the convent[2]. Since that time the friars have remained unmolested.

[1] Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 104.

[2] Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 262.

There are now but two resident within the walls with one manservant, and, except in the large establishments at Zara and Ragusa, this number is rarely exceeded in the convents of Dalmatia.

The weather cleared towards the end of our visit to Curzola, and we had a bright day for our journey to Ragusa, the next stage in our travels. As we left Curzola and steamed down the channel between that island and the mainland, we left behind us the old Venetian province and entered on the waters of the ancient Republic of Ragusa. The peninsula of Sabbioncello with its lofty mountains to our left, the distant island of Lagosta far out at sea on our right, and the nearer group of islands within which we soon found ourselves running, were all subject to the standard, not of St. Mark, but of St. Blaize.

Behind the long mountainous ridge of Sabbioncello runs the Canale di Narenta, which nearly meets the inlet of Stagno, the two seas only being divided by an isthmus of low ground a mile in width, which saves Sabbioncello from perfect isolation. In this narrow channel of the Narenta the feeble tides of the Adriatic, pent up in a gradually narrowing space, manage to produce a 'bore' or 'eger' several feet high like those on the Seine or Severn, as I was assured by a sailor who had seen that in the Bristol Channel near Gloucester. Here was the home of the dreaded Narentines, who in the tenth century levied a toll

on the commerce of Venice, and disputed the lordship of the Adriatic with her until the expedition of Pietro Orseolo II put an end to their pretensions.

Towards sunset we were running inside a long rugged island which, by its name if nothing more, awakened a thrill of interest—Méleda, the ancient Melita, the place, according to some, of St. Paul's shipwreck. The theory has much to recommend it, and is at least as old as the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who speaks as if it were undisputed[1]. The natives are still persuaded of its truth, and a St. Paul's bay is shewn here as it is at Malta. The place was described to me by a sea-captain, who knew it well, as a bay with an inner basin, surrounded by shelving hills of no great height, the inner part being one of those sea lakes common in the coast of Dalmatia with a narrow entrance from the sea. This entrance at Méleda is too shallow for a large vessel to pass, and any ship of the size of that which carried St. Paul would be stranded in the attempt. A Ragusan priest on board mentioned, in confirmation of the theory that this is the real Melita of St. Luke's story, that there are poisonous snakes on the island of Méleda, while on the neighbouring islands there are none. However this may be, as the sun went down in glory behind the island,

[1] He mentions Méleda as an island belonging to the Serbs of Pagania, i.e. the Narentines; *νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα ἤτοι τὸ Μαλοζεάται, ἣν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἅγιος Λούκας μέμνηται, Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων· ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἔχις τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δακτύλου προσήψατο, ἣν καὶ τῷ πυρὶ ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος κατέφλεξε.* De Adm. Imp. ch. xxxvi. p. 163, Ed. Bonn.

and every crag and peak of its jagged backbone stood out in black relief against a flaming sky, we agreed that for one night at all events we would forget that there was another island that claimed to be the home of those barbarous people who shewed no little kindness to the great missionary of the West.

It was almost dark as we passed the other islands of the old Ragusan state, Guipana, Mezzo, and Calamotta which some would have it was the enchanted isle of Calypso, and entered the deep bay at the far end of which twinkled the lights of Gravosa, the principal port of the ancient republic during the latter part of its history. The harbour of Ragusa is small and inconvenient, and is now nearly deserted for the more spacious haven of Gravosa or Santa Croce. The distance between the two places is about two miles, across a lofty isthmus which connects a rocky pine-clad peninsula with the mainland. A sharp descent on the other side ends in a grove of gigantic mulberry trees outside the Porta Pile, where we were landed at the Albergo Miramar and installed in excellent rooms on the first floor of what had evidently once been the palace of a Ragusan merchant prince.

APPENDIX.

Giuramento di Marsilio Giorgi fatto alla Comunità di Curzola il 1° Aprile 1265.

Divine providencie justitia de coelo prospexit que per mundi gubernatores et principes sine personarum acceptione confert unicuique jura sua, de cujus trono procedit gladius bis acutus, scindens ab utraque parte, justum dividens ab injusto, stateram tenens pre manibus, omnibus equa librans.

Id circo nos Marsilius Georgij comes insularum Curzole et Mellete una cum universitate urbis ejusdem Curzole per semitam justitiae proponentes incedere, ne aliquis civium forensium ductus errore, ferratur arbitrarie per avaritiae fluctus, ut navis sine regimine, karismatis gratiam invocantes, decernimus statuta, de novo inrenovata urbe, noviter condere, quibus unusquisque possit regi et debeat utriusque sexus etasque unanimiter gaudeat jure suo.

Nos vero comunitas Curzolae omnes et singuli bona fide, fraude postposita, sponte, vi aliqua non coacti, juramus per sancta Dei evangelia, quod de cetero domino Marsilio prelibato, tamquam nostro comiti et domino in perpetuum fideles erimus et ipsum habebimus amodo in antea pro nostro comite et domino in perpetuum, sicut juravimus et habuimus et habere debuimus a principio, quando supposuimus sibi nos et terram, et quando ipse venit et cepit eam rehedificare nobiscum.

Et liceat ei dimittere loco suo aliquem vice comitem cum ipse residentiam non fecerit pro sue arbitrio voluntatis, et quilibet comes pro suo habebit salario quingentas libras denariorum Venetorum parvorum pro comutatione decimarum et bannorum, que decime de cetero comiti nec alicui pertinentes ad comitatum et bona deveniat in comune, quorum medietatem sibi solvere teneamur in festo sanctorum apostolorum Phylipi et Jacobi. Heredum namque post mortem prefati

comitis Marsilii, qui de ejusdem exierit sanguine, habebimus unum majorem etate pro comite et domino in perpetuum, si erit masculus ei tenebimus sicut domino Marsilio in omnibus et omnia tamquam pro nostro comite obedire et in rebus debitis respondere sive masculus erit sive femina heres: et si heres hujusmodi ante quintum decimum annum obierit peccatis exigentibus sine heredibus, liceat prelibato domino Marsilio de sua propinquorum progenie seu cognatione heredem et successorem relinquere et instituere ad comitatum Curzole et Mellete secundum quod ipse ordinavit vel ordinaverit ad suum velle, qui heres vel successor in introitu comitatus jurabit ad sancta Dei evangelia vexillum sancti Marci in manibus tenendo, regere nos fideliter secundum statuta nostra condita et condenda, et custodire, manutenere, et non contravenire; et nos jurabimus eidem esse fideles et obbedire preceptis ejus tamquam nostri comitis juxta statuta scripta et scribenda, ut dictum est. Et si heres erit femina, erit nostra comitissa, et suus vir noster comes et rector; et si ipsa obedierit[1] vel decesserit absque herede, deveniat comitatus ad unum propinquiorem de sua progenie, ut dictum est, secundum quod ipse Marsilius ordinavit vel ordinaverit; et sic de herede in heredem comitatus procedat. Et si non erit heres in legittima etate, a procuratoribus sancti Marci, qui per tempora fuerint, eligatur comes et rector unus propinquior de sua progenie, qui regat civitatem et insulas, quamdiu pervenerit ad legittimam etatem, vel nupserit si femina erit alicui probo viro, et ille electus a procuratoribus antedictis tertiam partem salari et totius reddittus comitatus dare teneatur tam heredi masculo, quam femine, usque ipse pervenerit ad quintum decimum annum et tantum dabit minus tertiae partis, quantum placuerit domino Marsilio ordinare et si masculus tantum erit, femine solvat; et si ille comes propinquior, qui de sua erit progenie seu cognatione, non erit sufficiens, sit in examinatione et providentia domini ducis qui pro tempore fuerit et sui parvi et magni consilii discernere utrum sit ille sufficiens aut non; quod si non, et habeat heredem in minori etate, eligatur comes a procuratoribus sancti Marci, qui pro tempore fuerint, unus de cognatione sua qui regat civitatem et insulas maior etate et propinquior,

dum unus heredum illius insufficientis maior etate ad decimum octavum annum pervenerit. Et cum ipse pervenerit ad illud tempus, succedat in comitatu, non obstante patris insufficientia. Quod si non habuerit heredem ille insufficiens, de sua progenie propinquior et major etate semper gradatim de herede in heredem comitatus procedat.

Item nos universitas Curzolae, congregata ad sompnum campanae, damus et concedimus unanimiter nostro comiti Marsilio Georgio omnes terras et possessiones comitatus Curzolae, ut habeat potestatem dandi, possidendi, infeudandi illas, scilicet hominibus forensibus, qui voluerint esse cives, qui teneantur omnia facere sicut civis quilibet urbigena, et omnia faciendi de ipsis in perpetuum libere et absolute tum in possessionibus quam in animalibus et rebus aliis pro suo velle, quas comitatus habuerit ex antiquo, salvo illo, quod juste et pacifice possedimus nos homines insulae ab illo die, quo pervenit Marsilius in Curzolam ad rehedificandam civitatem per unum annum ante, ut inferius denotatur.

Item nos Marsilius Georgius comes Curzolae et Mellete concedimus universis et singulis hominibus insulae Curzolae omnes terras et possessiones quas possidebant et laborabant ac tenebant sine fraude in comitatu predicto, secundum quod juste et pacifice et quiete possidebant et habebant per unum annum ante nostrum adventum ad predictam insulam, qui fuit currente anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo sexto[2] penultimo die Julî, quod pacifice et quiete habebant et possidebant ipsi et sui heredes in perpetuum ; et de ipsis suum velle faciant, tam si ille possessiones vel terre fuerint ab eis habitate vel possesse et a suis antecessoribus, quam si fuerint de nostro comitatu predicto.

Item nos Marsilius antedictus ordinando jubemus, quod si aliquis comitum, qui per tempora fuerint de nostris heredibus, vel successoribus, alienaverit, vendiderit, donaverit, impignoraverit, infeudaverit, minuerit jura comitatus, vel comitatum in plures partes diviserit, ita quod duo comites vel plures simul et semel uno tempore comitatum regant, cadat de comitatu et solvat yperpera mille, quorum medietas deveniat ad meos commissarios seu constitutos seu constituendos

universitati ejusdem insule Curzolae[3], res comitatus tam mobiles quam stabiles, et major etate propinquorum de mea progenie gradatim succedat in comitatum, redimat et reducat comitatum et sua jura tam realia, quam personalia mobilia et immobilia in statum pristinum integre absque aliqua diminutione. Et si quis civium universi et singuli fecerint aliquid contra hec statuta, et probatum fuerit per idoneos testes et indicatum per judices comunis juratos, cadant ab omni jure suo ad velle comitis.

Ego Marsilius comes Curzolae et Mellete juro bona fide sine fraude regere comitatum, custodire, manutenere, defendere homines istius civitatis et insulae ejus ad honorem Dei et bonum statum civitatis Curzolae, et non diminuere comitatum nec res comitatus, ut supradictum est et facere rationem omnibus et singulis civibus eque sine personarum acceptione secundum civitatis scripta statuta et scribenda cum laude majoris partis civitatis, et que scripta non sunt, secundum puram conscientiam, justitiam dare equaliter cunctis, per hec sancta Dei evangelia[4].

'Ego p. juro ad sancta Dei evangelia bona fide sine fraude servare fidelitatem domino Marsilio nostro comiti et custodire illum in persona et rebus mobilibus et immobilibus et in omnibus rationibus sui comitatus, et adjuvare illum contra omnes homines, qui malitiose vel aliquo modo vel ingenio palam vel clam voluerint illum offendere personaliter vel realiter, et observabo ei fidelitatem in perpetuum et adjuvabo ipsum ad manutenendum bonum statum civitatis Curzolae et comitatus illius et veritatem dabo ad omnes rationes suas et justitias complendas et non ero in aliqua societate vel compagnia per sacramentum vel fidantiam aut per promissionem, aut per ullum ingenium contra honorem domini nostri comitis et contra salutem civitatis Curzole aliquo tempore, et si sum in aliqua compagnia districtione sacramenti rumpam eam pro posse et non tenebo illud juramentum vel fidantiam seu promissionem, nec aliud de cetero faciam in aliqua compagnia, immo dabo operam toto posse conamine rumpendi eam, et si scio vel scirem aliquam compagniam factam, quam citius potero manifestabo eam domino, et quando dominus comes quesierit a me

consilium, dabo ei rectum et fidelem, et veritatem dicam et rationes et justitias et directum in omnibus que pertinent ad comitatum Curzolae manifestabo et manutenebo, et omnia, que mihi dominus comes juste perceperit observabo, et si aliquis de ipsis justitiis vel rationibus habet aliquid, manifestabo domino comiti sine mora, et si ego habeo aliquid, reddam quam citius potero, et amplius non tollam, et promitto bona fide sine fraude predicta omnia observare, et quod facio predicto domino Marsilio meo comiti tenear facere sibi et suis successoribus de quarto in quartum annum.

[1] *Obedierit,* apparently in sense of 'going away, abdicating.'

[2] It will be observed that this date is inconsistent with the date in the heading.

[3] Some such words as *et tradat* seem wanting here.

[4] The oath to be taken by the Count ends here. What follows is the oath of fealty to be taken by each citizen, which apparently was renewed every fourth year.

CHAPTER XIX.

Ragusa.

History. Territory. List and Dates of Principal Buildings.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus. His account of foundation of Ragusa.

Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται Ῥαούση τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν κρημνῶν ἵσταται, λέγεται δὲ Ῥωμαϊστὶ ὁ κρημνὸς λαῦ, ἐκλήθησαν ἐκ τούτου Λαουσαῖοι ἤγουν οἱ καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸν κρημνόν. ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια, ἡ πολλάκις μεταφθείρουσα τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ τῶν γραμμάτων, μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν κλῆσιν Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ῥαουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡνίκα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ θέματι ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν οἱ δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμνους τόπους κατῴκησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀρτίως τὸ κάστρον, οἰκοδομήσαντες αὐτὸ πρότερον μικρὸν καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα μεῖζον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦ αὐξήσαντες μέχρι δ' ἔχειν τὸ κάστρον διὰ τὸ πλατύνεσθαι αὐτοὺς κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ πληθύνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τῶν μετοικησάντων εἰς τὸ Ῥαούσιον εἰσὶν οὗτοι, Γρηγόριος, Ἀρσάφιος, Βικτωρῖνος, Βιτάλιος, Βαλεντῖνος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων, Βαλεντῖνος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Στεφάνου. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλῶνα μετῴκησαν εἰς Ῥαούσιον, εἰσὶν ἔτη φ' (500) μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἰνδικτιῶνος ἑβδόμης ἔτους ,ϛυνζ' (6457 = Christi 949[1]). ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος Πανκράτιος ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου τῷ ὄντι μέσον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου.

Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp., ch. xxix.

[1] This passage gives the date of Constantine's account of Dalmatia. The reckoning was 5508 years from the Creation

The origin of Ragusa is very obscure, but all accounts agree in this, that it was not an ancient city, but founded by refugees from ancient cities destroyed by those barbarians who settled in the Balkan peninsula during the decline of the Roman empire. According to some the first settlement of Roman fugitives here took place when Epidaurus, a Greek city standing on the site of Ragusa vecchia, ten miles away, was destroyed by Goths in A.D. 265; yet Epidaurus certainly survived till A.D. 640, when it was destroyed by the barbarians at the same time as Salona. Again Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of refugees arriving from Salona about A.D. 449[1]. These confused accounts and inconsistent dates lead modern historians to the sensible conclusion that the colonization of Ragusa was gradual and extended over a long period, though she received no doubt a sudden accession of numbers when Epidaurus and Salona were destroyed in the seventh century. Whatever may have been the date of their arrival the refugees brought with them the ancient Roman language and culture, and Rausium is one of the towns mentioned by

Ragusa founded by Roman refugees.

A.D. 640. Epidaurus destroyed.

to the Christian era, which plus 949 gives the year 6457. Vid. notes on Savina near Castelnuovo, infra, chapt. xxiii.

[1] It has been suggested that the Φ=500 of Constantine Porphyrogenitus may be an error in transcription for T=300, which would correspond better with the generally accepted date of the destruction of Epidaurus. Vid. Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum by Mr. A. J. Evans, Archaeologia vol. xlviii.

Porphyrogenitus as continuing in his day Roman in the midst of a country peopled by Slavs [1].

Early expansion of the city.

The original city corresponded to the southern half of modern Ragusa, situated on a craggy peninsula, which was in those days insulated by a shallow marshy canal, running east and west from sea to sea on the site of the present Corso. This island, sloping gradually upward from the canal, but scarped abruptly with sheer precipices towards the sea, was the κρημνός or λαῦ where the Roman refugees established themselves. Opposite them, beyond the canal, on the slopes of M. Sergio, a rival colony of Vlachs or Bosnians settled themselves, and across the intervening plain the rival colonies—Latin and Vlach—watched one another from their respective hills, much as the Romans and Sabines had done long before from Palatine and Capitoline across the marshy level which afterwards became the forum of the joint community. As time rolled on, however, the Roman citizens burst their bounds, absorbed the opposite colony, and enclosed it with themselves in one general line of towers and walls, corresponding more nearly to the circuit of the present fortifications.

A.D. 867. Early maritime importance of Ragusa.

During 200 years, first under Byzantine rule and then under Byzantine protection, Ragusa advanced in power and importance. In 867–8 she withstood a Saracen siege for fifteen months, and after her relief by Basil I, the Macedonian,

[1] Vid. sup. vol. I. p. 16, note.

her maritime resources were equal to the transport of the imperial troops to Apulia, on their way to the successful campaign which broke the power of the Saracens and resulted in the formation of the Greek theme of Lombardy.

A.D. 998. Submission to Venice after defeat of Narentines.

During the struggle for the dominion of the Adriatic between Venice and the Narentines policy induced the Ragusans to favour the Narentines, and with their fall Ragusa herself seems to have come under the rule of the Venetians. This point, however, is debated with great heat between the historians of either side, the Ragusans arguing that there was a mere treaty on equal terms, the Venetians that the Ragusans made an absolute submission and received a governor and garrison[1]. We need not here enter into this controversy; the truth probably being that Venice established a certain supremacy over Ragusa, without directly interfering with her autonomy. Nor need we linger over the fabulous accounts of the defence of Ragusa against the Saracen Spucento by the Paladin Orlando, whose statue now stands in the Piazza, nor of the seven years' siege by Bodino, nor of the wars with the Servians, legends whose object seems to be to paint Ragusa as the champion of Roman orthodoxy against the Bogomiles or Paterenes, whose influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina endangered the fabric of Papal supremacy. The

Legendary character of early Ragusan history.

[1] Dandolo, lib. ix. c. xv. pars 30. Vid. sup. General History in vol. i. p. 30.

genuine history of Ragusa begins with her direct connexion with Venice and the end of her nominal dependence on the Eastern Roman Empire. Professor Gelcich[1] closes this first or Byzantine period, during which the city still professed obedience to the empire and borrowed her arts and culture from Byzantium, about the year 1175.

A.D. 1175. End of Byzantine period.

A.D. 1172. War between Venice and the Emperor Manuel.

During the latter part of the twelfth century fresh troubles arose on religious grounds between the Patarene Bans Boric and Culin and Ragusa. The city was also embroiled with Venice by the war between the Republic and the Emperor Manuel, who occupied Ragusa, and the Venetian historians claim a fresh conquest[2], which the Ragusan historians again deny. The event which, according to the latter, first brought Ragusa under the rule of Venetian governors was the so-called conspiracy of Damiano Giuda, who like another Marino Faliero tried to make himself absolute, and of whom the Ragusans rid themselves by calling in the Venetians and ac-

A.D. 1221. Conspiracy of Damiano Giuda. Venetian counts established.

[1] Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa, G. Gelcich. Ragusa, 1884.

[2] Dux autem . . . Ragusinos pollicitae fidelitatis immemores sibi rebelles fore invenit . . . bellicis instrumentis Urbem impugnari jussit. Veneti autem quod jussum fuerat audacter exequentes continuis insultibus eadem die quasdam turres ascenderunt, et depositis Imperialibus insignibus Beati Marci Evangelistae effigiem desuper posuerunt . . . Dux cum hymnis et laudibus Civitatem intravit, et consuetae fidelitatis sacramenta renovavit . . . Archiepiscopus consentientibus clero et Populo contentus fuit suam ecclesiam subjicere Gradensi Patriarchae si hoc a Papa poterit obtineri, quibus Dux Raynerium Zane dedit in Comitem. Dandolo, lib. ix. c. xv. pars 24. The doge was Vitale Michieli II, the year 1172.

cepting a Venetian count. There is another version, to the effect that Ragusa being already under Venetian rule Damiano's only offence was that of trying to set his country free. If this be so his memory has been somewhat ungratefully blackened by his countrymen. A third explanation of the story which has been suggested is that Damiano was a champion of the rights of the commonalty then in process of extinction by the party which was already forming itself into a compact aristocracy, and which only triumphed over him by the aid of the Venetians[1].

Character of Venetian rule at Ragusa.

Here, as in the other Dalmatian cities, the scope of the Venetian government was not absolute rule, but rather a kind of protectorate. Ragusa paid homage and tribute, and received a count from Venice, as of old she had accepted a duke from Byzantium; she admitted delegates to watch over Venetian interests; and she sent a contingent to the Venetian fleet in time of war. On the other hand, Venice kept the police of the Adriatic, and put down piracy, a task to which she alone was equal. The internal affairs of the state were left to the Ragusan signory, under the presidency, of course, of the Venetian count, and we find the Ragusans taking independent action towards other Dalmatian states and the '*ultramontane*' princes, and even making fresh accessions of territory without any interference on the part of Venice. For all laws the joint consent of

Ragusan autonomy under the Venetians.

[1] Kaznačić 'alcune pagine su Ragusa,' 1881.

count, signoria, and people was necessary[1], and on his first landing the new count swore to observe the customs and laws of Ragusa, holding the flag of S. Biagio in his hand[2]. This oath he renewed in the cathedral, and not till then was the flag of St. Mark displayed in the piazza and the homage of the people paid to the representative of the Most Serene Republic[3].

A.D. 1272. Internal development.

The establishment of the new rule was followed by the wholesome measure of codifying into a body of statutes the floating customs by which the state had hitherto been governed. Guilds of various trades were formed, *nuncj* or consuls were placed at Venice and in the ports on both shores of the Adriatic, and colonies of Ragusan traders settled in the interior of the Balkan peninsula to open a way for commerce with Italy, taking with them into those countries the influences of

[1] For instance, the heading of the new Statutes of the Custom House in 1277 runs thus:—'Liber Statutorum doane conpillatus tempore nobilis et egregij uiri domini Marci Justiniani Comitis honorabilis Ragusij cum uoluntate maioris et minoris consilij et cum laudo populi publica concione adunati per sonum campanarum ut moris est.' Quoted Eitelberger, p. 357, ed. 1884.

[2] Gelcich. Lo sviluppo civile di Ragusa, p. 30.

[3] Of the fact of this homage there can be no doubt: 'Clamat (unus) clamat alter clamant omnes universe: vivat dominum nostrum (*sic*) N. N. inclytum ducem Veneciarum quod omnes et singuli Ragusii et sui districtus perpetualiter erant fideles praedicti Dni Ducis et comunis veneciarum,' &c., &c. Reform. and Statutes, cited by Gelcich, p. 31. I am told that there is a Venetian lion sculptured over a gateway now buried among modern buildings. Vid. Gelcich, p. 42.

superior civilization. The principal exports from the interior were live-stock skins cheeses wax and silver, in return for which salt wine oil and woven stuffs were imported from Italy. Ragusan commerce.

In this year the island of Lagosta was bought by Ragusa from Stefano Nemagna II of Servia, not entirely with the consent of the inhabitants who offered some resistance. A.D. 1216.

In 1225 the Dominicans, and in 1235 the Franciscans, were established at Ragusa, to combat the growing influence of the Bogomiles. Both at first were settled outside the walls, not where their present convents stand. The duomo also, now alas! destroyed, was built early in this century. Popular tradition ascribes its foundation to a gift from Richard Cœur de Lion, who was nearly shipwrecked on his way home from the Crusades. At La Croma, an island off the harbour mouth of the city, he was going to build the church he had vowed to our Lady on the spot where he should touch dry land in safety, but at the entreaty of the Ragusans it is said he consented to build it in the city instead. A.D. 1225. Establishment of the mendicant orders. Richard Cœur de Lion.

At this time the only buildings of stone were the churches and the castle, all the rest being of wood, hewn on what are now the barren slopes of M. Sergio; another proof, if one were necessary, of the possibilities of Dalmatian soil and climate with proper care[1]. A fire, which broke out on Aug. 16, 1292, burned to the ground the greater A.D. 1292. City destroyed by fire.

[1] Dubrovnik, the Illyric name of Ragusa, means 'the woody.'

part of the city, while at the same time the territory was ravaged by Ourosh, king of Servia[1], in alliance with the people of Cattaro, and an epidemic raged within the walls. Oppressed by this combination of misfortunes the Ragusans thought of deserting their city and flying to some other Dalmatian town, or to Puglia, and the influence and prudent counsels of one of the patricians, Vicenzo Vukassovich, with difficulty prevailed over their despair. Subscriptions were raised to assist the needy, and measures were taken for rebuilding the houses on a better plan and with more durable materials, according to a 'building act' which was carried in September of the same year. The plan of the town as then laid out is that of the present day, and so no doubt is the shell of many of the houses, however much they may have lost or changed their architectural character.

Rebuilding of the city.

A.D. 1298. Venetian defeat at Curzola.

In 1298 the Ragusan contingent to the Venetian fleet shared in the defeat off Curzola by the Genoese, but their galleys escaped, and the city was able shortly afterwards to triumph over the Cattarines. Ragusan trade continued to flourish, and free access to the interior was given by the great Czar of Servia, Stephen Dushan, who was more friendly than his predecessor.

A.D. 1301–1320.

[1] Stephen Milutin Ourosh II reigned 1275–1321. Vid. notes on History of Cattaro. But in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's list of Kings of Servia he is called Ourosh III. There are several discrepancies in the various tables to which I have had access.

At this time the important addition of Stagno was made to the territory of Ragusa. It had belonged to the family of Branivoj, against whom the Ragusans waged a war of extermination, marked by atrocities not to be justified by the standard even of that age.

A.D. 1323–1332. Acquisition of Stagno.

The year 1348 is memorable for the great plague, or *black death*, which swept across Europe. At Ragusa the mortality is said to have amounted to 11,000, more than twice the number of the present inhabitants. The crucifix still hanging in the Dominican church, and the votive church of S. Biagio, since rebuilt, are memorials of this dreadful visitation.

A.D. 1348. The great plague.

In 1358 the treaty was signed by which Venice ceded to Lewis of Hungary the whole of her Dalmatian territory from Istria to Durazzo including Ragusa[1]. But the Ragusans had been prepared for the coming revolution, and had already in 1349 begun to pay court to the rising power of Lewis when he visited Ragusa on his way back from Naples. On the departure of Marco Sanudo, the last Venetian count, in 1358, the transference of allegiance was completed, and thenceforth Hungary assumed the protectorate which Venice had hitherto exercised.

A.D. 1358. Ragusa passes under Hungarian rule.

The Ragusans were to pay to Lewis the tribute hitherto paid to the king of Rascia or the Ban of

Conditions of subjection to Hungary.

[1] * * * 'Specialiter civitatibus Nonae, Jadrae, Scardonae Sibenici, Tragurii, Spalati, et Ragusii,' &c., &c. Treaty cited in Lucio, iv. p. 236; v. sup. Vol. I. pp. 112, 113.

Conditions of subjection to Hungary.

Bosnia, to furnish a contingent of armed galleys, to use the royal flag, and to observe the royal festivals. On the other hand Lewis engaged himself to protect the Republic against its enemies, and to allow it to govern itself by its own laws as it had done under the Venetian dominion. He confirmed the Ragusans in their possession of Stagno, and agreed that if he were at war with Rascia, or Venice, they might all the same continue to trade with those countries '*saving our honour*[1].' In 1360 he conceded to them the right of electing their own count, whomsoever they pleased, provided he were not a Venetian nor an enemy of Hungary, and he also obtained for them from the Pope leave to trade with the infidels[2]. Other privileges were granted by Maria and Sigismund, and Ragusa under Hungarian protection being left tolerably to herself, steadily advanced in prosperity. On the departure of the last Venetian count the city was refortified on a gigantic scale, the great ditch was dug, and a larger area inclosed, comprising the Dominican convent which had till then formed an outwork to the general lines. Another important work at this time was the building of a palace for the

Ragusan commerce with the Turks.

The city refortified.

[1] Brunelli; notes to De Diversis, p. 104.

[2] The Ragusans astutely foresaw the greatness of the Turks, the importance of being on good terms with them, and the opening which an alliance would afford to their commerce. They had already made terms with Orchan, Emir of Brussa, who died in 1360, and secured freedom of trade with his subjects for an annual payment of 500 zecchini.

government to replace the old castle, which was antiquated, and inadequate to the increased importance of the community. The palace of the grand council beside it, which survived till destroyed by fire in 1816, was probably built about the same time. A great campanile for the duomo was also begun, but it never rose above the first stage, the scheme being then abandoned for that of a new baptistery[1], which survived the great earthquake of 1667, but was destroyed in modern times.

A.D. 1388. Rectorial Palace and other public buildings erected.

In 1413 the Ragusans for a short time tasted the sweets of government over the three important islands of Lesina Brazza and Curzola. On the fall of Hervoye Spalato and Ragusa both applied to Sigismund for a grant of these islands, of which Hervoye had held the countship. Sigismund was needy and ready to listen to the highest bidder, and the prize fell to the Ragusans who had the longer purse. An armed force took possession of the islands with but little resistance, and a count was appointed in each. But the rule of the Ragusans was not popular, and their magistrates were not respected[2]. Sigismund was

A.D. 1413-17. Ragusan government at Lesina Brazza and Curzola.

[1] It is described as an octagonal building with long narrow windows. Gelcich, p. 43.

[2] 'Jam caeperunt Ragusini praetores mittere, qui insulanis jus dicerent: quos cum viderent, Pharenses praesertim, regendis populis minime idoneos, utpote jurisdicundi, literarum inscitia, imperitos (Ragusani enim soli paene mercaturae per ea tempora dediti erant, pauci admodum literis, quae nunc quoque perrarae sunt Ragusae, dabant operam); ad hoc quum audirent Canalensem agrum inique et per summam injuriam veteribus pos-

petitioned to resume the direct government, and in 1417 the Ragusans were compelled by an imperial order to surrender their new possessions.

c. 1418–20. Ragusa becomes independent.

When the rest of the country passed once more into the hands of Venice, there came to Ragusa at last the hour of complete independence[1]. The exact date of this happy revolution is uncertain, but it was probably marked by the erection of the pillar of Orlando for the flag-post of the Republic, which was put up either in 1418 or 1423, the figures being unluckily legible either way on the brass plate, which was discovered when the pillar was blown down in 1825[2].

MCCCC ℅ : : III DE MAGGIO FATTO NEL TEMPO DI PAPA MARTINO V E NEL TEMPO DEL SIGNOR NOSTRO SIGISMVNDO IMPERATOR ROMANORVM ET SEM (*per Augustu*)S ET RE D'ONGARIA E DALMATIA E CROATIA ET CETERA FO MESSA QVESTA PIETRA ET STENDARDO QVI IN HONOR DI DIO E DI SANTO BLASIO NOSTRO GONFALON · I · I OFFICIALI . . . . . .

sessoribus ereptum adeo consternati sunt, ut, ni saniori consilio vis prohibita esset praetores urbium violati fuissent.' Lud. Tuberonis Commentariorum de temporibus suis, l. v. c. vi. Cited Boglic. Lesina, p. 99. But the mention of Canali seems incorrect. Resti says Ragusa did not acquire Canali till she lost the islands. Vid. infra, p. 299.

[1] The shadow of Hungarian supremacy was, however, still maintained as a useful protection against Venetian and Turkish aggression; and this connexion was never lost, the Republic relying to the last on the support of the Kings of Hungary, and subsequently that of the Empire and the House of Austria, whenever hard pressed by other powers. A petition to Maria Theresa dated 1775 speaks of 'quel stretto obbligo di chientela di cui si pregia (la repubblica).' Cited by Eitelberger, p. 29.

[2] Gelcich, p. 50.

Final expansion of Ragusan territory.

At this time too the territory of the state reached its utmost expansion. In 1399 the Primorie di Stagno, or coast from near Ragusa northwards to Stagno, was granted or sold to the Republic by Ostoya king of Bosnia, and the Canali or plain southwards to Punta d' ostro at the mouth of the Bocche di Cattaro was purchased in 1420–7. The territory of Trebinje, and that of Almissa with the Kraina or coast north of the Narenta, were cautiously refused for fear of offending the Turks, and an alliance which had been made with Orchan was renewed with his successor.

Flourishing condition of the free Republic.

With the period of her freedom and autonomy Ragusa entered on a career of increased activity and progress; the city was adorned with numerous public buildings and various public improvements were effected. The legislation of the time does honour to the humanity of the citizens. In 1417 slave dealing was prohibited as base, wicked, and abominable[1]. In 1432 a foundling hospital was established to counteract the practice of exposing infants, and in 1435 public schools were formed, in which education was given gratuitously by masters of eminence, who were invited from Italy[2].

[1] 'Perchè turpe, scellerato, ed abominevole.'

[2] Among these teachers was Filippo de Diversi de Quartigiani, of a noble family at Lucca, who fled at the usurpation of Paolo Guinigi. He first established himself at Venice as teacher of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and thence came to Ragusa in 1434 at the invitation of the republic. He has left us an account of the buildings and customs of Ragusa, dated at the end of the work, 1440. It was published by Prof. Brunelli of Zara, in 1882.

Water was conveyed to the city from Gionchetto, eight miles off, and laid on to conduits, under the direction of the Neapolitan architect Onofrio di La Cava, who erected the handsome fountain, still standing though much defaced, near the Porta Pile, and the smaller one at the Corpo di Guardia near the Dogana.

A.D. 1435. The palace burned and rebuilt.

Onofrio found another opportunity for the display of his skill in the rebuilding of the palace, which was destroyed in 1432 by a fire and an explosion of gunpowder in the adjoining arsenal. The new palace was begun in 1435, and De Diversis, who saw it building, has left an account of it.

Slavonic refugees from the interior settled at Ragusa.

At this time Ragusa became the refuge of many noble and wealthy families from the interior, who fled from the Turks at the fall of the Slavonic kingdoms. Prof. Gelcich gives a long list of the principal houses thus added to the list of citizens. All of them seem to have become Italianized, and most of them engaged in commerce, many among them having brought considerable wealth to their new home. Even here, however, it seemed doubtful for a moment

A.D. 1453.

whether they would be secure. The Turks, now masters of Constantinople Servia Bosnia and the Morea, meditated fresh conquests beyond the Adriatic. Italy was the dream of Ottoman ambition, and the eastern sea-board of the Adriatic was the step to its realization. Ragusa was marked down for occupation by Mahomet II; his

armies advanced on the city, and the Ragusans were ordered to surrender their territory and confine themselves to their walls. Unable to resist by force they had recourse to policy, and declared that if these terms were insisted on they would give up their city to the king of Hungary, and Mahomet therefore contented himself with exacting a tribute. The immediate peril was thus averted, but the Ragusans in alarm collected money from Pope Pius II and strengthened their fortifications, levelling the houses and churches in the suburbs lest they should afford shelter to an enemy.

A.D. 1460. Ragusa threatened by Mahomet II.

While thus employed a fresh calamity befell them. A fire broke out which destroyed the upper part of the rector's palace and other buildings, and an outbreak of the plague carried off 2000 citizens. The subsequent restoration of the palace in 1464 practically reduced it to the form it still retains, and is an important event to remember in dealing with its architectural history.

A.D. 1462. The palace again burned.

A.D. 1464. Restored.

Undismayed by these disasters, fire, pestilence, and terror of the Turk, Ragusa grew rapidly and prospered. She fortified herself against the infidel, but wisely made friends with him at the same time, and obtained leave from the Pope to trade with him. The city was embellished continually with fresh public buildings, and in spite of the heavy dues imposed by the jealousy of Venice on Ragusan vessels entering any of her ports, the trade of the little Republic rapidly increased. She had factories in the main ports

Continued prosperity of Ragusa.

of the Mediterranean and even beyond the pillars of Hercules, and made treaties of commerce with Spain in 1494, France in 1508, and Egypt in 1510, which last opened her a way to the Indies. The harbour was enlarged and the mole built by Pasquale Michele, the government engineer, and a modus vivendi was even established with Venice, at this time threatened with ruin by the league of Cambrai, and looking around for friends. These were the halcyon days of the Republic of S. Biagio, when she was at peace with her neighbours and respected by her rivals, and when her '*argosies*[1]' were to be found in every commercial port. Twenty-one confraternities or guilds of different industries existed in the city, besides others without the walls, and besides several trades not represented by a guild.

A.D. 1494. Her foreign commerce.

A.D. 1520. Earthquake.

A calamity of a new kind, the harbinger of still worse visitations hereafter, befell the city in 1520. On May 17 in that year an earthquake prostrated many houses and damaged the duomo and many public buildings, so that 100,000 zecchini did not more than cover the damage within the walls, and 50,000 that in the territory without [2]. For twenty months shocks continued to be felt, and it is said that it was at this time

[1] The word 'argosy or ragosy' is said to have meant originally a ship of Ragusa; v. Johnson's Dict.; also Dr. Murray's New Eng. Dict.

[2] In the later days of the Venetian republic the sequin, zecchino, or gold ducat was worth 9*s.* 6*d.*, and the silver ducat 3*s.* 4½*d.* English money.

the custom arose of putting the cypher IHS as a pious invocation of Divine protection—a kind of Passover—above the doorways of all Ragusan buildings, where it may generally be seen to this day. The Senate vowed a church to the Saviour, and the graceful little chapel of San Salvatore, close inside the Porta Pile, remains a monument of their terror and gratitude.

A.D. 1526. Dreadful visitation of the plague.

The plague visited the city again in 1526, brought in stuffs from Ancona by a merchant whom the infuriated citizens carted through the city and tortured. The Senate fled to Gravosa, and the city was tenanted only by a small guard, but the plague continued for six months, and carried off it is said 20,000 victims. Fresh troubles followed owing to the difficulty of maintaining the neutrality of the Republic between the contending forces of Charles V and the Turks. But Charles found it better worth while to employ the blood and treasure of Ragusa in his expeditions against Algiers Tunis and Tripoli than to quarrel with her, and as Ragusa sacrificed 300 vessels and innumerable lives of her citizens in the service of Charles and his successors, it has very properly been questioned whether the republic would have found their enmity more ruinous than their friendship[1].

A.D. 1531-5. Injuries owing to the wars of Charles V.

Decline of Ragusa.

It is from this period and from these causes that the decline of the republic must be traced.

[1] A Ragusan contingent served and suffered with the Spanish Armada which attempted the invasion of England in 1588.

To add to their troubles the Uscocs, who after harrying the Ragusan territory carried their depredations across the Turkish frontier, nearly involved Ragusa as they did Venice in hostilities with the Porte, and this danger lasted until the final dispersion of these ruffians in 1617. Never was the course of the state more difficult to steer; for both sides, Turks and Venetians, presumed on her weakness and preyed on her resources. Pestilence also reappeared, and the earthquakes of 1580 and 1639 revived the terrors of 1520. By the time peace was restored and the Ragusans had more leisure to attend to their commerce, they found that commerce itself had begun to take fresh departures. England and Holland had become maritime powers, the trade of the Mediterranean had passed almost entirely to the Venetians, and the traffic with Herzegovina was almost all that remained.

A.D. 1580.

A.D. 1640. Ruin of her commerce.

We arrive now at the catastrophe which has perhaps done more than anything else to make the name of Ragusa familiar to the world. Early in the morning of April 6, 1667, without any warning, a shock of earthquake prostrated the greater part of the public buildings, and a multitude of private houses. Ghetaldi rector of the republic with 5000 citizens perished in the ruins. The cathedral was so injured as to require entirely rebuilding; the churches of S. Biagio S. Francesco and S. Domenico lost their roofs; the palace and the dogana were half

A.D. 1667. The great earthquake.

ruined; the town took fire; and hordes of plunderers from the country, and possibly from the city itself, began to rifle and carry off anything they could find of value, including many treasures from the churches. Order was at length restored by the presence of mind of some of the leading citizens, and aid was forthcoming from several Italian and European states for the rebuilding of the city. Various schemes were proposed for moving it to a securer spot, and one less haunted by unhappy memories, but the majority of the people were not to be persuaded to abandon the ancient site, and Ragusa still stands where it ever did, more fortunately perhaps for students of art and history than for the inhabitants; for earthquakes recur at least every twenty years, and there are few adult Ragusans now living who have not been frightened into the streets by the dread of falling walls and roofs.

The Turks avail themselves of the calamity to threaten Ragusa.

The Turks alone had the brutality to take advantage of the calamities of Ragusa. Kara Mustapha demanded an explanation of the armed resistance made by the Ragusans to the bands of marauders who had pillaged the town, and he levied fresh imposts on their commerce on various pretexts. It was hard to find any one willing to go as ambassador to this ferocious despot, and when at last two patriots, Nicola Bona and Marino Gozze, undertook the task for the good of their country, their fate justified the

A.D. 1678. Patriotism of Bona and Caboga.

apprehensions of their friends, for they were thrown into prison at Silistria, where Bona died. A grateful inscription set up by the State to his memory is still in existence. Two other Ragusans, Marino Caboga and Vladislavo Bucchia, who nobly volunteered to go as ambassadors to Constantinople, met with similar ill-treatment. Caboga, who redeemed the profligacy of his youth by the unselfish patriotism of his riper years, after languishing in a Turkish prison, and refusing to betray his country as the price of his liberty, lived to return to Ragusa and receive the honours which his grateful countrymen were waiting to shower upon him[1].

A.D. 1683. Decline of Turkish power.

The defeat of the Turks before Vienna, and the death of Kara Mustapha relieved Ragusa from the danger of immediate attack, and in fact the decline of the Turkish power had set in. In 1687 the Venetians took from them Castelnuovo in the Bocche di Cattaro, and the conquest was confirmed by the peace of Carlovitz in 1699. This acquisition, however, was a fresh danger to the commerce of Ragusa, as the Turkish caravans began to go to Castelnuovo rather than to Ragusa, and the Venetians began to take salt into the interior. The matter was adjusted by the treaties of Carlovitz in 1699, and Passarovitz in 1718, when Venice agreed not to interrupt the Ragusan trade with the Grand

[1] An interesting sketch of Marino Caboga is given by Mr. Paton, Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic.

Signor; and as a security against aggression on her part a small strip of territory was ceded to the Turks at Klek on the Canale di Narenta, at the north end of Ragusan territory, and at the valley of Sutorina on the Bocche di Cattaro to the south, to form an impassable barrier between the lands of the two republics. There is a tradition that this condition was inserted into the treaty of Passarowitz at the instance of the English ambassador, who was moved thereto by the suggestions and entreaties of his Ragusan servant[1].

A.D. 1718. Klek and Sutorina.

Tranquillity being restored, the Ragusans had leisure for domestic matters. The Jesuits' church, a vast but uninteresting pile, was begun in 1699, and finished in 1725, and the grand flight of stairs by which it is approached was completed in 1735, from the design of Padalacqua, an eminent Roman architect. It is an imposing and not unsuccessful work of 'barocco' architecture.

Architectural works during the eighteenth century.

The church of S. Biagio, which had suffered severely by the earthquake, seems to have been finally destroyed by fire in 1706, and to have been then rebuilt in its present form. Though not less 'barocco' in detail than the Gesuiti, the general idea of the interior plan is excellent and deserves study. The rebuilding of the duomo was not decreed till 1671, when plans

[1] Sorgo. Quoted by Kaznačić, 'Alcune pagine su Ragusa,' pp. 41, 42.

were invited from Andrea Ruffalini of Urbino, and money borrowed from the Monte di Pietà at Rome. The architecture is not remarkable. With these buildings the series of architectural works of the Republic closes. The rest of the century was devoted to clearing away and repairing the ruin of the earthquake, though even to the present day many gaps remain unfilled by new buildings.

Internal disorganization.

The terrible events of the seventeenth century seem to have disorganised the state and left disorder and faction behind them. The government was paralysed by disputes about the election of magistrates and the distribution of dues. The old nobility, that which was of older date than the seventeenth century, and the new nobility which came to the front when commerce had begun to flow in new channels, were constantly in opposition, their very fellow-citizens disapproving their senseless feuds. Trade declined, and the Turk, now reduced to court the favour of the Venetians whom he formerly defied, directed the stream of his commerce towards Venice rather than Ragusa. Vain attempts to revive the trade in salt, and absurd laws to increase the consumption of that article only provoked a revolt of the Canalesi, which helped to bring about the final ruin of the Republic.

Decline of Ragusan commerce.

The fall of Venice in 1797 seemed to throw fresh opportunities for commercial activity into the way of the Ragusans, and the mercantile

marine rose rapidly to 400 sail. But both France and Russia hungered for her, and neutrality became impossible. A short stay for repose within the walls, which it was impossible to refuse the French troops, brought upon Ragusa the hostility of Russia, and the forces of the latter power, aided by Montenegrins and the still discontented Canalesi, attacked and bombarded the city, ravaged the territory, and destroyed the suburbs. The French ultimately reoccupied the city in 1806, and the Republic of Ragusa 'ceased to exist,' by a word from those lips by which so many greater states than this were made and unmade.

A.D. 1797. Revival of Ragusan commerce on fall of Venice.

A.D. 1805. Ragusa invaded by Russians and Montenegrins.

Fall of the Republic of Ragusa, Jan. 31, 1808.

In 1814 the combined efforts of the English and Austrians drove the French from the city, and from that time Ragusa has followed the fate of all Dalmatia, and remained under Austrian rule.

A.D. 1814. Ragusa becomes Austrian.

The constitution of the Republic of Ragusa was strictly aristocratical. The population was divided into three classes, the nobles, the commons or cittadini, and the artizans. The last had no voice at all in the government, and were not admissible to any office. To the cittadini a few offices were open, but only such as had no political importance. The whole government was entrusted to the nobility, a close aristocracy, which never permitted any admixture of plebeian blood by intermarriage with the inferior orders,

Aristocratical constitution of Ragusa.

and which was limited to certain families inscribed in the *Specchio di Maggior Consiglio*, the Ragusan Libro d' Oro[1]. For the most part the nobles of Ragusa were merchants like those of Venice, and there were but very few who lived merely on their rental; for the territory of the Republic was small and sterile, and there was no opportunity for the formation of a landed or feudal aristocracy.

The Gran Consiglio.

At the age of eighteen every noble of the privileged families took his seat on the Gran Consiglio, the supreme governing body of the state. It confirmed all laws, ratified or annulled sentences, and elected to all the principal magistracies.

The Rettore.

The chief magistrate was the Rector, who resided in the public palace, and never appeared in public but in state, accompanied by his lictors or *chenesagli*. These officers always preceded him two and two, and, in imitation of the consular cortege of ancient Rome, it was made unlawful for any one to step between him and his attendants, unless it were his own little child.

The Minore Consiglio.

Closely associated with the Rector was the Minore Consiglio, at first consisting of eleven members, five of them judges who with the Rector formed the highest tribunal, and six consiglieri. Their number was reduced to seven

[1] De Diversis gives the names of the thirty-three families which constituted the Ragusan nobility in his time; p. 58, ed. Brunelli.

after the great earthquake. This lesser council possessed the initiative of all measures, and in certain cases had final authority[1]. More important matters were carried to the Gran Consiglio, or to an intermediate body, the Rogati or Pregati, the Senate, consisting of forty-five members, among whom were included the eleven of the Minore Consiglio and the Rector. These two bodies were called together by the Minore Consiglio when occasion required. The functions of the Rogati seem, in the earlier times of the Republic at all events, to have been chiefly those of a consultative committee, to which discretionary power was delegated in difficult and involved matters by the Gran Consiglio.

The Rogati.

The jealousy characteristic of an aristocratical Republic hedged these various magistracies around with numerous checks and precautions. The Rector held his office but for one month, and was reeligible only after an interval of two years; the Minore Consiglio was elected afresh every year,

Short terms of magistracy.

[1] 'Quae agenda videntur primum ad Minus Consilium afferuntur quod . . . quae sui fori fuerint expedit; alia autem proponit vel in Rogatis vel in principali Consilio. Potest enim et debet Minus Consilium superiora convocare cum opus videtur. Rogati res arduas discutiunt quarum, cum habeantur caeteris prudentiores, auctoritas ipsis est a principali commissa, non tamen queunt officiales nisi aliquos ut Capitaneum vel Supercomitos seu Patronos Galearum armandarum contra piratas eligere. Est enim eorum etiam potestas multis legibus adstricta.' De Diversis, p. 58, ed. Brunelli. Mr. Evans (Through Bosnia, p. 402) says the senators were elected for life, but confirmed annually.

and the same persons could not be reelected the following year; and the three Provveditori, officers whose authority extended even to the suspension of the law till the matter in question could be reexamined by the Rogati, held their office only for twelve months.

Sagacity of Ragusan government.

The continued existence of the little Republic for so many centuries is the greatest tribute to the sagacity of its rulers. Its position '*exposed it to constant alarms, surrounded as it was by troublesome neighbours, and subject alternately to the intrigues and ambition of Venice, the unsettled and discordant projects of the Slavonian princes, the unstable friendship of the Hungarians, the selfish views of the Spaniards, and the capricious insolence of the Turks, to the ignominy of whose protection the hostility of Venice obliged it to submit; and the whole career of the Ragusan Republic was a struggle for self-preservation, and the maintenance of its independence in the midst of constant danger*[1].'

In this her history reminds us of that of the greater Republic of St. Mark, which, though stronger and of greater weight in Europe, was also more immediately exposed to political complications, and whose continued existence down almost to the present century, was largely due to the cautious policy of her rulers, and the accurate information of the secrets of other

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 351.

cabinets, which she obtained from her skilful and devoted agents.

Humanity of Ragusans towards political refugees.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson pays a well-merited tribute to the shelter which Ragusa always afforded 'to the unfortunate, with a noble disregard to the menaces of an offended and powerful neighbour,' and to her usefulness as the medium of communication during two centuries between Christian Europe and the Turk.

Ragusan literature.

I have in a former chapter touched slightly on the character of Ragusan culture, and mentioned some of the illustrious citizens whose achievements in the field of literature and science have done honour to the Republic that gave them birth [1].

Ragusan artists.

In the field of art Ragusa has been less distinguished, for though native artists were not wanting among the Ragusans, they have been indebted to strangers for their principal buildings. One of themselves, Ludovico (Tubero) Cerva, who lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, complains that his countrymen cared little for anything but commerce, and very little for literature [2]; and the number of Ragusan artists who worked at Florence at Rome and at the court of Hungary, and earned for themselves both bread and fame in foreign countries, proves that they had little prospect of winning either at home [3].

[1] General History, vol. I. p. 179. [2] Vid. supra, p. 297.

[3] A considerable list is given by Professor Gelcich, Ragusa, pp. 78–82.

Ragusan territory.

The territory of Ragusa at its widest extension consisted of the coast from the valley of Sutorina in the Bocche di Cattaro to Klek in the Canale di Narenta, with the peninsula of Sabbioncello, and the islands of Lagosta Méleda Giupana Mezzo and Calamotta. The length of the territory on the mainland, from Punto d' Ostro on the Bocche to the northern end of Sabbioncello, was not quite one hundred miles, and the width never exceeded the few miles that lie between the mountains and the sea.

The home territory, from Ragusa Vecchia northwards past Ragusa to Val di Noce, including Breno Gravosa Ombla Malfi Gionchetto, &c., was granted by Stephen, ban, or king of Dalmatia, as far back as about 950 [1].

The islands of Mezzo Giupana and Calamotta were purchased from Silvester, king of Dalmatia in 1080.

The island of Méleda was ceded by Dessa Duke of Chelmo in 1141.

The island of Lagosta was bought from the Nemagna in 1216.

Stagno was taken from the Branivoj in 1298.

The Primorie di Stagno, or coast between Val di Noce and Stagno, was purchased from Ostoya in 1399.

The Canali, from Punto d' Ostro to Ragusa Vecchia, was purchased in 1420–27.

[1] Gelcich, p. 6.

List and dates of principal buildings at Ragusa.

The following is a chronological list of the principal public edifices still standing at Ragusa, and those of which the dates are known and descriptions exist, although the buildings themselves have disappeared. I have grouped them under the periods into which Professor Gelcich divides the history.

BYZANTINE PERIOD.

Ninth or tenth century	Santo Stefano.	Ruined by earthquake of 1667. Four walls and fragments remain.
ditto (?)	S. Giacomo in Peline.	Exists.
Eleventh or twelfth century.	Doorway on hill near Duomo.	Exists, v. Fig. 62.

VENETIAN PERIOD.

1200–1250.	Duomo.	Destroyed by earthquake of 1667.
1306.	Dominican Church opened.	Exists, though much modernized. Southern doorway and choir are ancient.
1312.	Sponza, ground and first floors of Cortile (date uncertain).	Exists.
1317–1360.	Franciscan Church Convent and Cloister by Mycha di Antivari.	Cloister perfect. Church and convent modernized.
c. 1344.	Palazzo del Gran Consiglio.	Injured by fire 1462. Destroyed 1816.
1348.	Dominican Convent begun.	Cloister perfect. Convent pretty well preserved.
1348.	S. Biagio.	Destroyed by fire, 1706, and rebuilt.

HUNGARIAN PERIOD.

1388.	Palazzo del Rettore, on site of ancient Castle.	Destroyed by fire in 1432.
1395.	Baptistery.	Destroyed in modern times.

PERIOD OF INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC.

1424.	Tower of Dominican Convent, by Fra Stefano.	Exists. Top stage modern.
1435.	New Palazzo del Rettore, begun by Onofrio di La Cava.	Ruined by fire 1462, but a great part still remains in the present building.
1437.	Fountains by Onofrio.	The larger one ruined, but the smaller perfect.
1457.	Church of Dancé.	Exists, but altered.
1464.	Palazzo del Rettore, repaired and partly rebuilt by Michelozzo and Giorgio Orsini.	Exists.
1464.	Torre Menze, by Gior. Orsini.	Exists.
1480.	Torre del Campanile.	Exists.
1520–1536.	S. Salvatore.	Exists.
1520.	Sponza, upper story and portico.	Exists.
1642–1659.	Church of the Rosario.	Exists. Desecrated.
1671–1713.	Duomo rebuilt.	Exists.
1699-1725.	Jesuits' Church.	Exists.
1706–1715.	S. Biagio rebuilt.	Exists.
1735.	Stairs to Jesuits' Church.	Exist.

CHAPTER XX.

Ragusa[1].

The Corso and Piazza. The Churches of S. Stefano and S. Giacomo in Peline. The Rectorial Palace. The Duomo and Treasury. The Sponza. Dominican and Franciscan Convents. Church and Statuette of S. Biagio. L' Orlando. Churches of S. Salvatore and Le Dançe.

The traveller who descends from the grove of ancient mulberries in front of the Albergo Miramar by the winding road that leads him under the shadow of enormous mediæval fortifications to the Porta Pile, and who finds himself for the first time within the walls of Ragusa, will not fail to feel the difference between this and other Dalmatian cities. The stately Corso that lies before him, running with an even and imposing width between regularly built houses, which though not older than the great earthquake of 1667 are not without a certain grave dignity, contrasts strongly with the narrow streets of picturesque Zara which make one think of an oriental bazaar, or the tortuous and squalid alleys huddled together within the walls of Diocletian's

[1] The account of the Rectorial Palace and the Duomo was originally published in the Annuario Dalmatico for 1885, with Plates XXXIX, XLI, and XLIV, which must be my apology for their Italian titles.

house at Spalato. As he advances between the graceful votive church of S. Salvatore and the public fountain of Onofrio di La Cava and traverses the length of the Corso, the interest increases in proper dramatic ratio; fresh buildings come successively into view; and when he arrives at the Dogana and a new vista opens to the right, disclosing the palace of the rectors of the Republic, the duomo, and the church of S. Biagio, a very imposing architectural climax is reached.

But Ragusa is unlike the other Dalmatian cities, not only in being more spacious and more regularly built, but also in the character of her architecture, which reflects the difference of her history. Like the ancient free cities of the Low Countries and Italy, she possesses all the material apparatus of an independent commonwealth. As in ancient Greece, so here the splendour of the city depends on the public buildings, which were the common property of the citizens;—the palace of their Rector, the Sponza where their revenues were collected and their coinage struck, the town campanile where hung the great bells which summoned them to the piazza to ratify or reverse the resolutions of the government, the pillar of Orlando whence floated the gonfalon of their patron St. Blaize, and the churches where they assembled for devotion. There is something here to remind one even of the great rival republic that ruled the Adriatic, for the Corso and Piazza lie at right angles like the Piazza di S. Marco and the Piazzetta, and the palace of the

Rector stands exactly in the same relative position as that of the Doge, and holds the same pre-eminence among the architectural monuments of the city.

Entering Ragusa full of memories of the great earthquake of 1667, one expects at first to find little of antiquity: and yet, with the exception of the duomo and the church of S. Biagio, the greater number of the public buildings and convents that were standing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have come down to us in a more or less perfect condition. There are also very many private houses of mediæval date in the narrow streets that intersect one another at right angles on the hills north and south of the Corso, the result no doubt of the more regular rebuilding after the fire of 1292. When therefore we read in the contemporary accounts of the Venetian provveditore of Cattaro, who happened to be at Gravosa at the time of the earthquake, '*that, with the exception of the public granary the dogana the fortifications and the lazzaretti, all the houses both public and private together with the palace the churches and the convents were ruined and destroyed;*' or again, in the letter of Fra Vitale Andriasci to Diodono Bosdari at Ancona[1], that '*nothing of the city remained standing but the fortresses and the circuit of the walls, which were injured in many places, and a few dismantled houses,*' we must suppose that many of the damaged

[1] Quoted in 'O Trešnjama grada Dubrovnika.' Gelcich, pp. 21–29.

buildings were easily repaired, and perhaps make some allowance for the horror and uncertainty of eye-witnesses. The houses in the Corso were no doubt thrown down, for they have evidently been rebuilt all at one time and their style agrees with the date of the earthquake; we know also that the duomo was destroyed, and the church of S. Biagio much injured; but it soon becomes apparent that the ruin caused by the earthquake was mainly confined to the valley of the Corso and Piazza, and that the buildings on the hills to either side fared better. Even in the valley the ruin was by no means complete, for the two great convents with their cloisters and campaniles have survived, and so has the Torre dell' orologio, though somewhat shaken from the perpendicular.

Further enquiry proves that it was generally in the valley that the earthquakes did most harm, not only in 1667, but on all other occasions of which the accounts have been preserved. In the suburbs of Ragusa the shocks are much slighter. Sir Gardner Wilkinson[1] says that no shock of earthquake has ever been felt at Gravosa; and though this is contradicted by the records of the great earthquake of 1667, which ruined many buildings at Gravosa and Ombla and on the island of Mezzo, there is no doubt that earthquakes are much less felt in the neighbourhood than the city, and much less in the hilly parts of the city than in the central level of the Corso and Piazza.

[1] Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. i. pp. 344, 364.

There is then no modern newness to disappoint the visitor. Even the seventeenth century houses of the Corso or Stradone are now grey, and, being built in the traditional way with arches on the ground floor open to the street, and stone counters half-way across the opening, they are quite picturesque enough, and the general view of this fine street is dignified and interesting. In the open shops on either hand the tradesmen are to be seen busy at their various crafts. Here is a silversmith making the beautiful buttons of silver filagree with which the peasants cover their jackets, or long hairpins like rapiers with a little bird perched on the crosshilt, or earrings with pendent pearls, all of antique and traditional designs, often quite Byzantine in character and possibly actually derived from Byzantine patterns. Here cross-legged on the raised counter sit two or three tailors in loose black Turkish trousers,—Albanians probably,—engaged in embroidering with silver or gold braid the jackets and caps of the men and women of the Canali, or of Montenegro, the patterns being all worked by eye without any traced lines, and no two being quite alike, though all conforming to a common scheme of ornament. Other shops are all ablaze with brilliant scarfs and gay handkerchiefs, the specialty of the women of Ragusa, who dress like the Italians in printed cottons and plain gowns, and not after the quaint fashions of the Slavs of the neighbourhood. Of the latter the town is always full, and the splendour of their dress surpassed anything we had seen

before. There were Canalesi women with brilliantly white coifs stiffly starched and pleated, and Herzegovinian women with red beretta and flowing white handkerchief like a bridal veil. Both men and women wear waistcoats and jackets covered with rich embroidery in gold and silver braid and hung with buttons of silver gilt filagree, the matron being further distinguished by an edging of gold braid added at marriage to the gorgeous waistcoat which was the lover's gift. The men wear full Turkish breeches of dark blue, girdled with rich sashes supporting the leather pouch and various knives and pistols. Their headdress varies from the turban of the Bosnians to the ordinary red cap of Dalmatia, or the 'pork-pie' beretta of Herzegovina, black edged and red crowned, with a half-eclipsed circle of gold braiding, amid which sometimes is seen the cypher N · I proclaiming the wearer a subject of the free highland principality of Nicolas I of Montenegro.

A passage under the archway of the town belfry leads to the gateway of the old harbour of the Republic, small and difficult of entry, and now generally forsaken for the more commodious haven of Gravosa. Here are the moles of Pasquale di Michele[1], the Ragusan engineer who improved the harbour in 1495; huge walls and towers encircle the basin on the sea side; and across the entrance used to be drawn a chain in time of danger. Vast arches in the back wall, now built up, led to the sheds or boat-houses of the galleys which were drawn up

[1] Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 70.

inside as in the old arsenal at Lesina; the '*galearum domus in qua triremes pulchrae et biremes resident*[1].' From the port a winding ascent leads through at least three encircling walls and gates to the Porta Plocce and the road to Cattaro. These walls are literally stupendous, and I know no mediæval fortifications that give a stronger impression of impregnability.

Ragusa is perhaps the most agreeable place in Dalmatia for a prolonged stay. The buildings are full of interest, the smoothly flagged streets are bright and clean, gay with open shops, and peopled with brilliant costumes; there are pleasant caffès, and really tolerable eating-houses, though cooking is perhaps the most backward art in Dalmatia for want no doubt of better materials, and excellent rooms are to be had in the old palace outside the Porta Pile, now converted into the Albergo Miramar. The coast scenery is exquisite, with lofty mountains and broken foreshore, against which beats the bluest of seas, the rich colouring of the rocks being set off by dark evergreens, grey olives, and glaucous green aloes. So near do the mountains come to the sea that Ragusa completely bars the passage, blocking the coast road, which in fact runs through the city from gate to gate. Scarcely among all the enchanting shores of the Mediterranean and its dependent seas can be found scenes to surpass that which presents itself as one issues from the town by the Porta Plocce, and follows

[1] De Diversis, p. 42.

the coast road southwards. We never tired of sauntering here in the evening, when the fading light had put a stop to sketching, and the day's work was done, to watch the heightened tints on rock and tree gathering fresh splendour from the dying sun, while behind us the ancient city with all its towers and bastions stood sharply cut out against the flaming sky. As we returned, and passing the drawbridge threaded the threefold girdle of massive walls and gates with the protecting figure of S. Blaize above us, and descended the steep winding street under the shadow of the great Dominican convent, there was nothing wanting to stir the imagination. Ragusa has preserved completely the character of a mediæval city. From whatever side you regard her, she appears surrounded by a chain of frowning towers, and girt by mighty walls over which little more than the towers of the churches can be seen, while towards the sea she presents nothing but a line of walls and towers, crowning the verge of an inaccessible precipice.

Behind this cliff the ground falls inward to the Corso, which divides the town in two, and this hill between the Corso and the sea was the seat of the original colony. In the middle of this part of the town, therefore, we must, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus [1], look for the church of Saint Stephen. And here in fact are shewn the four walls of a humble edifice, to which tradition

[1] See above, p. 286.

points as the ancient fane of the refugee dwellers on the crags. Little enough can be gathered from the building itself: that it should be mean and humble is rather in favour of its claim to be the mother-church of Ragusa. Professor Gelcich well describes the probable appearance of a church such as this in the tenth century in southern Dalmatia. '*Instead of a work of art we must imagine a chapel capable of containing few beyond the ministers of the altar; low-vaulted, decorated inside, and often outside, with frescoes, with an apse no larger than was required for the altar, and lighted only by a few rays entering through an uneven number of holes made in the slab of stone that closed the single window, generally placed over the altar*[1].' That this is not too humble a picture is proved by the analogy of three or four ancient churches at Zara, two at Nona, and one at Traü, and we need not therefore be shocked at the meanness of the building here shewn as the church of the Holy Stephen, which, though once the duomo of Ragusa, is now neither more nor less than a hen-house, adjoining the roofless area of a larger church, to which it had in later ages served as a sacristy. Both churches were ruined by the earthquake of 1667, and the site of the larger one is now a green sward, used as a drying-ground, where we found the carcase of an eagle hung up to dry, a trophy of the gun of the servant who admitted us. Over the door of this enclosure is fixed a very interesting Byzantine

[1] Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 14.

sculpture [1] of two arches, each containing a cross, and this with other fragments of interlacing ornament that remain near it is in the Byzantine manner, and may be of the ninth century. Prof. Gelcich says the pierced window slab still exists, but we did not see it.

The next church in point of antiquity is that of San Giacomo in Peline [2], which is still complete, and even used now and then for service. Externally there is nothing to proclaim it a church, and we had to enter it through an adjoining cottage. It consists of a nave about eight feet wide and three bays long, each bay measuring six feet in length, and it ends eastward with an apse. The vault is a compromise between groined and barrel construction, for there are lateral arches, though they are very low and the groins are very slightly developed; but the building suffered by the earthquake of 1667, and possibly the vault is not in its original state. The only object of any interest which it contains is a fourteenth century painting of the Madonna over the altar.

The other churches of the Byzantine period, S. Maria in Castello and S. Nicolò in Prijeka, have been rebuilt, and Ragusa now contains nothing more of the Byzantine period, unless a fine early doorway on the hill near the duomo (Fig. 62) may be as

[1] See illustration, Pl. I. Fig. 1, Vol. I. p. 214 supra.

[2] Peline is the Slav name of the herb Salvia, which has given its name to the northern half of the city on the slopes of Monte Sergio.

old as the twelfth century. Eitelberger says '*of Eastern Byzantine buildings no vestige remains, and only the names of Monte Sergio and some saints remind one of the East and the Eastern church*[1].' This is not absolutely correct, as we have seen, but yet it is not far from the truth. The architectural remains of Ragusa date from the time of Venetian

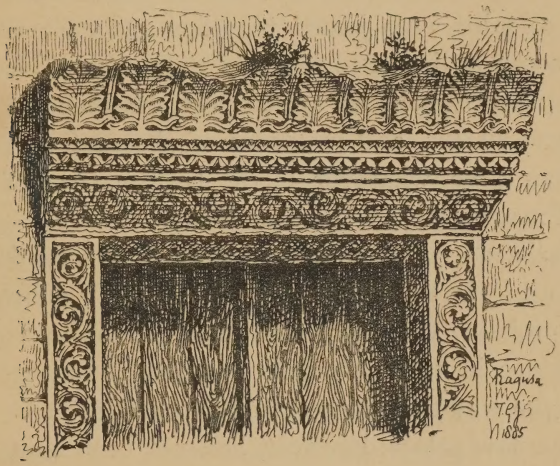


Fig. 62.

rule, or the period of Independence, and the noblest monument of her ancient freedom and prosperity is the Palace of the Rectors of the Republic.

The Rector's Palace.

In order to trace the history of this, the most interesting building in Ragusa—I had almost said in Dalmatia—we must go back to the early days of

[1] Eitelberger, ed. 1884, p. 314.

the settlement, when the Corso was occupied by a shallow marshy channel or canal, which ran east and west from sea to sea, making an island of the Roman settlement on the craggy hill to the south, and separating it from the rival colony of Vlachs. Against these doubtful neighbours the Λανσαῖοι built a fort on their side of the canal, just where the palace of the Rectors now stands. And when the two colonies were joined together and enclosed by one common line of towers and walls, the old castle, no longer needed as an outpost, became the seat of government, and residence of the prefect, prior, or count, or whatever might be the title of the chief magistrate for the time being.

Various improvements and alterations were doubtless made in this building to fit it for its purpose, and probably very few traces remained of the original structure in 1388, when it was removed altogether to make way for a new palace for the Rector[1].

The new palace, however, had not been long completed when it became a prey to the flames. On the 10th of August, 1435, a fire broke out, which is described by De Diversis, an eye-witness, as having consumed the '*spacious Palace of Ragusa, which was in ancient times the Castle, together with certain towers, and nearly all the ammunition and arms which were kept there for the defence of the city and armament of the galleys*[2].' These towers must have

[1] Gelcich, Dello Sviluppo Civile di Ragusa, p. 43

[2] De Diversis, p. 41, ed. Brunelli. He settled at Ragusa the year before this accident.

been part of the arsenal which stood by the port and adjoined the back of the palace, and the mischief was in great measure caused by the explosion of the powder magazines, which the Ragusans, though warned by repeated accidents, kept in dangerous vicinity to their principal municipal buildings.

The next step will be best described in the words of De Diversis himself[1]. He says '*the Ragusan government decided that the Palace should be rebuilt with more magnificent construction, sparing no expense, and that the greater part of the former castle which the fiery flame had not consumed should be levelled with the ground, the architect being a certain Master Onofrio Giordani di La Cava, of the kingdom of Naples. The walls are made of ashlar stones*[2], *finely wrought and very ornamentally carved, with great vaults resting on tall and stout columns which were brought by sea from Curzola. The capitals, or upper parts of these columns, are carved with great pains. There are five large entire columns, but two other half columns, one attached to one tower the other to the other; on the first was carved Aesculapius, the restorer of medical art, at the instigation of that remarkable poet and most learned man of letters, Nicolo de Lazina*[3], *a noble of Cremona, a man*

[1] I translate from the MS. in the Franciscan convent at Ragusa, which contains passages not to be found in Prof. Brunelli's publication of the MS. at Zara.

[2] *Lapidibus vivis*; he elsewhere explains 'lapidibus non terreis sed ut communi nomine utar vivis,' p. 29, ed. Brunelli.

[3] Thus in the Franciscan MS., but Brunelli calls him Larina and

beyond doubt of great weight, and among the learned approved for his worthy deserts, who, in order to retire for a little from the dissensions of his country, undertook to exercise and bear the burden of the chancellorship of Ragusa, and is now bearing it. For he, since he knew and had learned in his literary studies that Aesculapius had his origin at Epidaurus, which is now called Ragusa, took the greatest pains and trouble that his image should be carved on the building, and he composed a metrical epitaph to him, which was fixed in the wall. On a certain column of the entrance of the Palace is seen sculptured the first righteous judgment of Solomon. In a certain angle of the principal door is the likeness of the Rector hearing offences. At the entrance of the Lesser Council, of which I shall have to speak by and bye, is a certain sculpture of Justice holding a "brief," on which is read as follows—"Jussi summa mei sua vos cuicunque tueri."'

It was not very long before this second palace was overtaken by a fate similar to that which befel the first. On Aug. 8, 1462, a fire broke out, followed by the explosion of the powder magazine in the arsenal, which, by a strange perversity, the Ragusans persisted in keeping close to their prin-

Gelcich Laziri. Cremona was at this time often the battlefield of the contending armies of Filippo Maria Visconti and the allied forces of Venice and Florence. In 1427 there was a naval engagement on the Po, near Cremona, and in 1431 Carmagnola there met with the check at the hands of Francesco Sforza which roused the suspicions of the Venetians and occasioned his disgrace and death.

cipal buildings, and the greater part of the Rector's palace was destroyed, the ground-floor alone, as we are told [1], escaping the general ruin.

The Grand Council at once set about repairing this misfortune, and entrusted the work to two famous artists, Michelozzo Michelozzi [2] and Giorgio Orsini, or, as his admiring countrymen call him, Giorgio Dalmatico. Michelozzo had been a pupil of Donatello, and had earned considerable reputation as a sculptor. '*But in one thing,*' says Vasari, '*he surpassed many, and himself also, namely, that after Brunelleschi he was reckoned the most able architect of his time, the one who most conveniently ordered and disposed the accommodation of palaces convents and houses, and the one who shewed most judgment in introducing improvements.*' Michelozzo was one of the early masters of the classic renaissance, and his influence may probably be detected in the adoption of the new style for the alterations and repairs in the palace. He seems to have been personally at Ragusa in March, 1463, superintending the construction of the city walls; and on Feb. 11, 1464 the Consiglio dei Rogati ordered that the palace be rebuilt according to the design and advice of *Michel-*

[1] Gelcich, p. 63.

[2] In 1430 Michelozzo begun the palace for Cosimo dei Medici now known as the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence. Accompanying his patron into exile in 1433, he went with him to Venice, where he built the Library of S. Giorgio Maggiore. He returned to Florence with Cosimo in 1434, where he made various ingenious repairs to the Palazzo Vecchio, and built the Convent of S. Marco, 1437–52. Vasari does not give the date of his death, which seems to have occurred in 1478.

otio ingeniaro[1]. His important engagements elsewhere perhaps prevented his staying to complete his work at Ragusa, and in the following June Giorgio Orsini was appointed to carry on the work[2], following, no doubt, the general instructions and plans of Michelozzo. The history of Giorgio Orsini belongs more properly to Sebenico, and his name is inseparably connected with its beautiful cathedral[3].

By these two architects the palace was reduced pretty nearly to the form in which it has come down to us; for although the building was injured at the earthquake of 1667 and underwent extensive repairs, so that for a time the Rector had to be housed elsewhere[4], it has no details of much architectural importance later than those of 1464. The foregoing is its history, so far as it has been gathered from documents. Our task is to compare these written accounts with the actual building, and to distinguish the work of Onofrio di La Cava in 1435

[1] Atti dei Rogati, communicated to me by Prof. G. Gelcich.

[2] Minute of the Great Council of Ragusa in the year 1464, Dec. 2. 'Prima pars est de reassumendo ad salarium Communis nostri Magistrum Georgium de Sibenico ingeniarium per menses octo, inceptos die qua finierunt primi quatuor menses, videlicet die 23 Octobris, cum salario consueto, videlicet ad rationem iperperorum sexcentorum in anno.' Fosco, La Cathedrale di Sebenico, p. 15. I have in a former chapter (vol. I. p. 398) alluded to the theory of another writer that Giorgio was converted from a Gothic into a Classic architect by his association with Michelozzo at Ragusa. It seems to me only partially true, for the work he did at Sebenico before coming to Ragusa was already tinged with renaissance feeling.

[3] Vid. supra, ch. ix. on Sebenico, vol. I. pp. 389–393.

[4] Gelcich, pp. 67, 68.

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T.G.J.

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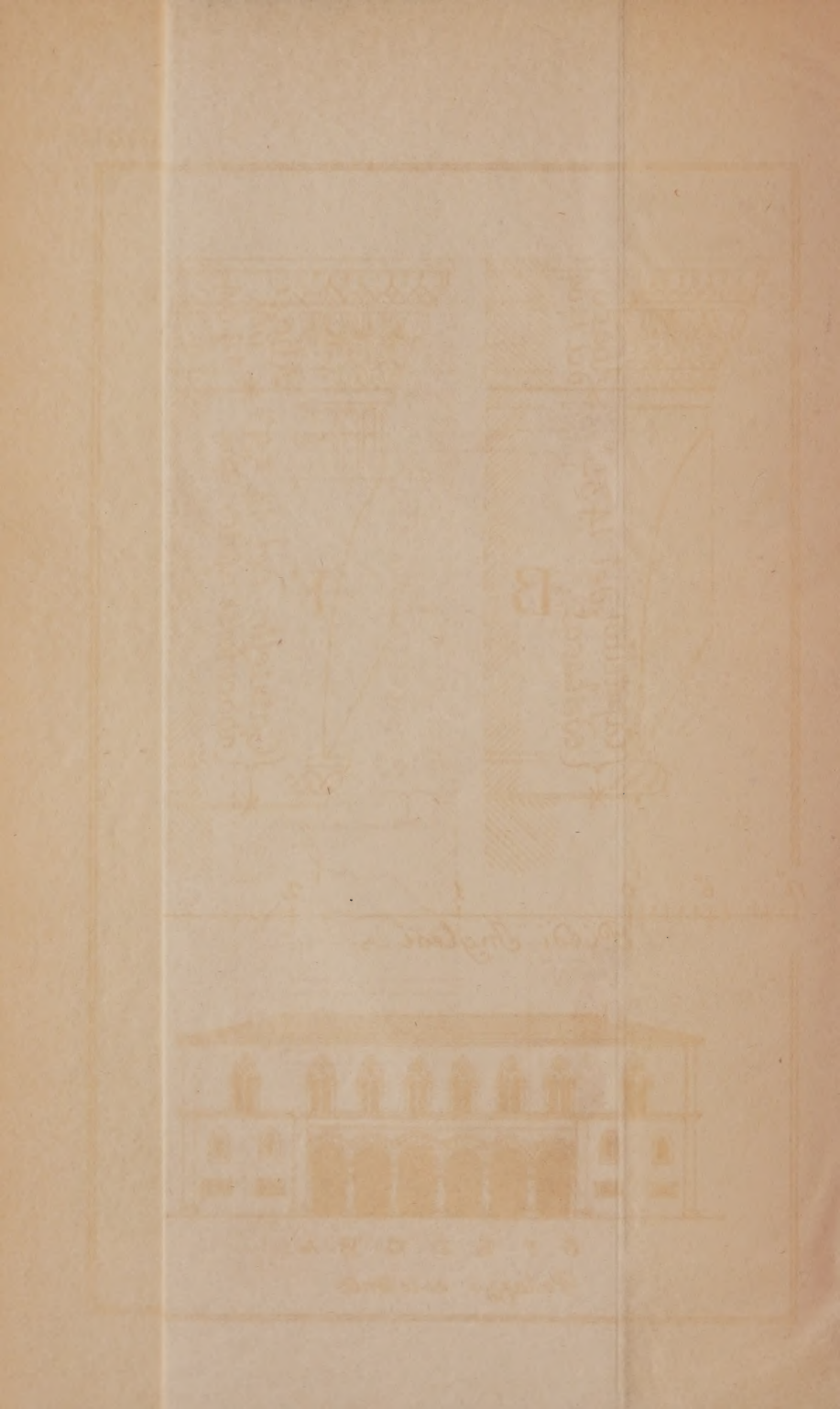
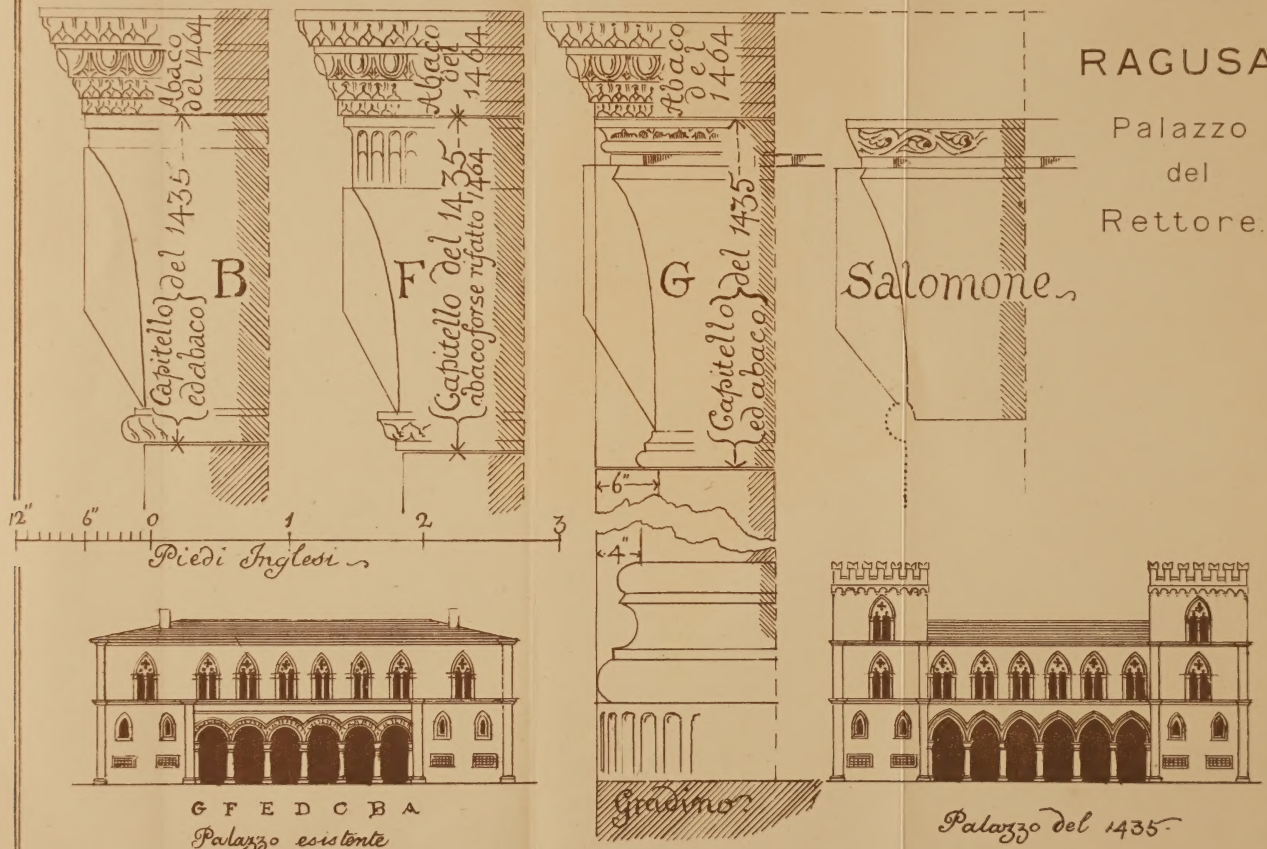
RAGUSA.

Plate XXVIII.



RAGUSA

Palazzo del Rettore.



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from that of Michelozzo and Giorgio Orsini in 1464.

The architectural history of the palace at Ragusa is very similar to that of the duomo of Sebenico. In both buildings we find different architects at work at a short interval, and during that interval we find that architecture had begun to pass into a new phase. Antonio the Venetian at Sebenico, and Onofrio the Neapolitan at Ragusa, were both of them Gothic architects, while Michelozzo and Giorgio Orsini, the latter of whom took up their work in both places, were the apostles of the Classic renaissance in Dalmatia, and, if we bear this in mind, the architecture of the two periods will be as easily distinguished here as at Sebenico.

The facade towards the Piazza is two stories high. The upper floor has a range of eight two-light Gothic windows, and the lower a loggia of six arches between two solid structures which contain windows (Plates XXXVIII, XXXIX). The reason why the arcade is not continued to the ends of the building, as Professor Freeman[1] would have had it, is explained by the allusion of De Diversis to a tower at each end of the front, which would of course demand a solid substructure. The little silver model of this palace in the hand of the statue of S. Biagio (Plate XLIX) seems to shew a low tower at either end of the facade, raised only by one extra story above the rest of a two-storied building[2].

[1] Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, p. 245.

[2] In these towers we may perhaps find the explanation of the

No sooner does the eye fall on the Loggia than it encounters the Aesculapius capital devised by the Cremonese chancellor, which De Diversis saw in the carver's hands in 1435 (Plate XL), and on the wall close by it is the chancellor's metrical 'epitaph':—

MVNERA DIVA PATRIS ꝗ SOL' APOLIS ARTES
INVENIT MEDICAS ꝑ SECL'A ꝗNꝗ' SEPL'TAS
ET DOCVIT GRAMEN ꝗD VSV̄ ꝗꝗ VALERET
HIC ESCVLAPIVS COELATVS GLORIA NOSTRA
RAGVSII GENITVS VOLVIT QV̄E GRATA RELATV̄
ESSE DEOS INTER VETERVM SAPĪA PATRVM
HVMANAS LAUDES SVꝑARET RATA ꝗ' OMNES
ꝗVO MELIVS TOTI NEMO ꝗVASI PROFVIT ORBI.

Here there is unmistakeably a piece of Onofrio's work, and from this Professor Gelcich[1] not unnaturally concludes the whole portico to be his. Professor Eitelberger[2], on the contrary, concludes that this capital is a relic of the older building, but that 'the other capitals with angels, festoons, and foliage, have, like the whole structure of the pillars, the decided character of the renaissance.' Professor Freeman[3] seems of the same opinion as Professor Gelcich. It seemed to me, however, from the first, that the problem was not to be solved so simply; on one hand the arcade obviously contains much more of

tradition that there was a third story to the palace (i. e. ground first and second floors), and that the second floor was thrown down by the earthquake of 1667, and not rebuilt. Vid. Brunelli; notes to De Diversis, p. 43. Gelcich, pp. 66, 67.

[1] Gelcich, p. 63. [2] Eitelberger, p. 320, ed. 1884.

[3] Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, p. 246.

T.G.J.

Capital of Palace.

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Onofrio's work than this one Aesculapius capital, and on the other it obviously contains much that is later than his time, and in a style that is not his. The six round arches, for instance, cannot be his, for they are unmistakeably of renaissance work, with festoons of oak leaves twined with ribbons in

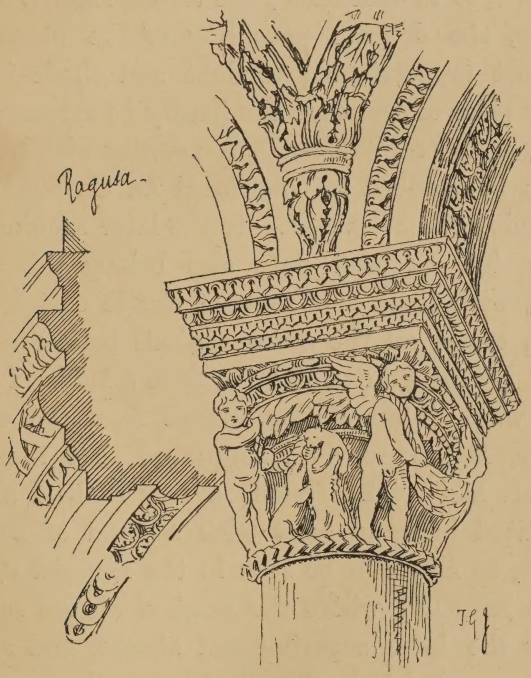


Fig. 63.

true classic fashion. So also are the three central capitals marked C. D. E. (vid. Plate XXXIX), which are made up of amorini festoons and other familiar devices of the period, not particularly well executed (Fig. 63). But the other four capitals, G. F. B, and

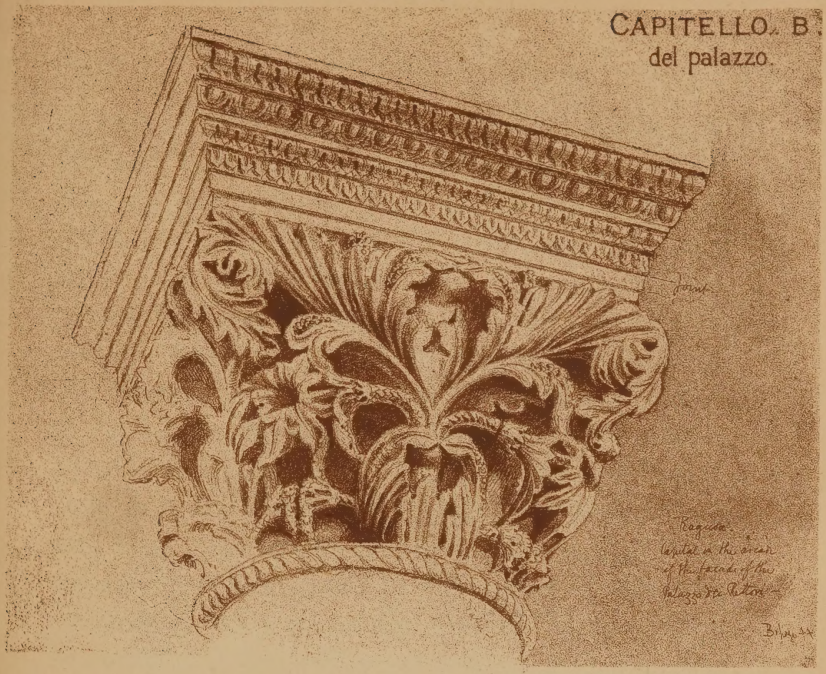
the Aesculapius capital A, are in a totally different style from the central three, and of a far higher order of merit. The three renaissance capitals are only mediocre works, but the other four are veritable gems of Gothic sculpture. One of them especially,—that marked B (Plate XLI),—is exquisite in design and perfect in execution; the tender rigidity of the foliage, the delicate pencilling of the fibres, and the just proportioning of light and shade in this lovely piece of sculpture can hardly be surpassed.

These four capitals—A. B. F. G.—may without hesitation be ascribed to Onofrio di La Cava, and the remaining three—C. D. E.—to the later architects of 1464. To the later date also belong the heavy abaci, with their four rows of classic enrichments, which crown all the seven capitals both early and late. By careful examination from a ladder I found they were all on distinct stones from the capital proper, and moreover it appeared that the older capitals had originally only a very shallow abacus, decorated in some cases with a band of running leaves, as may still be seen in the respond G, (vid. Plate XXXIX) where the original abacus remains below the later superimposed abacus, and also in another capital to be described by and bye.

The columns, although they are regularly diminished with an entasis in classic fashion, belong to this earlier date, and the responds are probably exactly as Onofrio built them, untouched since his time.

This being so, the story of the loggia is as follows. We have of Onofrio's work the four extreme

CAPITELLO B.
del palazzo.



T.G.J. del.

CAPITELLO A GRAVOSA.

capitals A. B. F. G, the whole of his five columns of Curzolan stone, and the two half columns at the ends. His also are the interior walls of the loggia, on which may still be read the inscription recording the erection of the palace in 1435, the second year of the Emperor Sigismund[1], with the brackets or consoles that carry the vaulting, the groundfloor and mezzanine windows, and the magnificent door in the back wall that admits to the interior cortile. All this was preserved by the later architects when they took the building in hand, as indeed we are told their instructions directed. Three of the old capitals, however, those in the centre of the row, apparently being too much injured for use, were replaced by Giorgio with new ones of his own. On all seven he then placed his massive abaci, by no means to the injury of their architectural effect, and

[1] That is to say the second year after his coronation at Rome in 1433. He had been elected Emperor in 1410, crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1414 and at Milan in 1431. The inscription runs thus:—

CIVITATI
RAGVSEI · NOBILES · PROVIDENTISSIMIQVE
CIVES
BLASII · MARTYRIS · PONTIF · Q · SS · PRAECL · HVIVS · EPIDAVRAE
RAGVSEAE · CIVITATIS · PATRONI · AVSPICANTE · NVMINE
AD PRID · IDVVM · SEXTILIUM · AVG · FAVSTVM · FELˡCᵀSS · QVE · DIEM
EX · S · C · ET · AMPLISSIMI · ORDINIS · D E C R E T O
ATRIVM · PRAETORIANVM · HOC · INSIGNE · VT · PVBL · CIVIT · AVLAM · ET
SENATORˡAM · AEDEM · OPTVMIS · CVRANIB · V · VIR · OPTIMM · IN · OMNEM
OPORTVNVM · PRAESENTEM · ET · POSTERˡTATIS · VSVM · AERE · PVBLICO
DICANDVM · EXORNANDVMQ · DEDERE
K · A
A · D · M · CCCC · XXXV · SIGISMVNDO · IMP · A · II ·

then turned his round arches with their classic festoons and ribands.

The correctness of this theory would be proved beyond a doubt if one or all of the three missing capitals of Onofrio's work could be found, a hopeless task after the lapse of more than four centuries but for a clue furnished by a passage in Professor Freeman's book. De Diversis mentions a capital in the entrance of the palace carved with the judgment of Solomon, and Professor Freeman saw a capital with this subject lying in a garden at Gravosa, but as the front arcade was complete without it he was at a loss to find a place for it[1]. There is no difficulty, however, in this, on the theory that three of the present capitals of the arcade are interlopers. I started, therefore, for Gravosa with the hope that this might be, after all, one of the three missing capitals, which, having been in the centre of the arcade and in front of the doorway leading to the interior, might fairly be described by De Diversis as '*in columna introitus Palatii.*' And so in fact it proved to be (Plate XLI); it corresponds exactly in dimensions with Onofrio's capitals; it would fit exactly one of his columns; it has the original shallow abacus decorated with running foliage which I noticed as remaining in one of his capitals[2] below the later one imposed by Giorgio, and the design of

[1] Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, p. 250. Professor Freeman says the description 'cannot refer to the outer arcade, where none of the capitals show this subject.' The Solomon capital was I believe first noticed by Mr. Arthur Evans.

[2] That marked G in my plan.

the foliage on the back and sides is exactly the same as that on one of Onofrio's capitals (that marked G), which I had been drawing that very morning, with the selfsame birds perched in the middle and pecking fruit. The proof is conclusive and irresistible, but further confirmation was not wanting, for Count Caboga, to whom the capital belongs, said casually that he had heard there were two more capitals lying about somewhere, but that he had not been able to find them. Could we but find these we should have the entire series of Onofrio's seven capitals '*magno studio sculpta*' in the year 1435[1].

The question occurs why Giorgio required the high massive abaci which he added to the capitals; and, considering that Onofrio's building was in the Gothic style, and Giorgio's work in that of the renaissance, and that all the door and window arches in Onofrio's work are pointed, one is driven to the conclusion that the portico also originally had pointed arches springing from the shallow abacus which is in the solid stone of the capital, and that Giorgio, in order to make his round arches high enough for the vaulting, was driven to the expedient of raising their springing by means of these lofty abaci. The effect of the original arcade was probably not unlike that of the nave arcades of the duomo of Curzola, though the sculpture there

[1] I must not fail to express my thanks to Count Caboga for a courteous reception and leave to study and draw the capital in question.

cannot be compared in point of merit with that of Onofrio's work at Ragusa.

Fresh perplexities meet us in the upper story, for the carved stringcourse at the first floor level and the eight windows above are all of good and genuine Gothic work of 1435, although they stand *above* renaissance work of 1464. About the end windows there is no difficulty; they came under the towers, and have windows of the same date below them, and have probably never been disturbed. But what about the central six over the portico? The only explanation seems to be this:—that the fire and powder explosion so injured the central part of the loggia and the wall above it, where of course the structure was weakest, that it had to be taken down and rebuilt;—that the ends of the building being more solid, escaped better, and required no rebuilding;—and that after the arcade of the loggia had been rebuilt, the central part of the upper story was restored by resetting the old stonework and the old windows, together with the old carved stringcourse below them. This conjecture is confirmed by a minute of the grand council, Dec. 11, 1464, written in a curious half Italianized Latin, from which it seems that the front was not actually *thrown* down, but had to be partly *taken* down and reconstructed, which would account for the good preservation of these windows [1].

[1] 'Prima pars est de faciendo dein quod restat de fabrica palatii, videlicet de fazata anteriori eo quia secundum parere magistri est periculosa sic stando et petras ponendi in fabrica dicti palatii

The doorway which leads from the loggia to the interior of the palace is very magnificent. A scroll of foliage runs round the pointed arch, from which emerge at intervals little half-length figures, while the capitals, and the stilted imposts that are interposed between capital and arch-springing, are rich with sculpture. The capitals proper are composed of animals and leafage intertwined; that to the right is evidently carved by the same master-hand as the capital B (Plate XLI) while the other is very inferior, resembling ordinary late Venetian work. The stilted imposts and the arch are by the superior artist, and are admirably done. On the right hand impost the front face has four little boys with wings and nimbus; one plays the organ, a second blows the bellows for him, and the other two are blowing trumpets. On the return face are three naked men with javelins and shields, who are advancing as if to disturb the harmony. On the other impost the inner return face is devoted to the peaceful, and the front face to the disorderly subject. The former represents a man embracing his wife with a winged boy by their side, while round the corner is a riotous troop of figures, one blowing a horn, and the others dancing or struggling or racing. All these are admirably carved, and full of life and fancy. This doorway is part of Onofrio's building, and so is the Porta della Carità at the south end of the loggia, where

quod ad presens laboratur.' Fosco, La Cathedrale di Sebenico, p. 15.

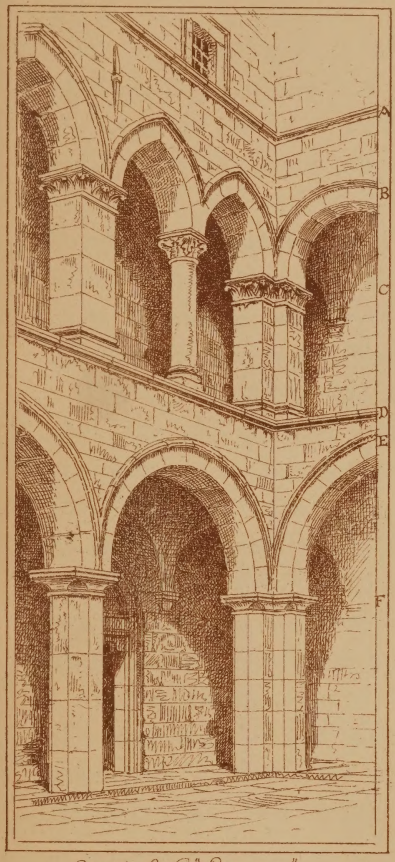
the poor assembled in time of dearth to receive grain at moderate prices or on easy credit [1], as well as the other small door near it which led by a private stair to the hall of the Lesser Council in the Mezzanine story. So also are the arcaded marble seats running along the back wall, where '*Sotto i volti,*' as the old documents phrase it, the rector and the great council sat in state on grand days. To the right of the doorway the seats are two tiers high, to the left only one tier [2], those to the right being the more honourable seats of the rector, with the archbishop on his right, the representative of the empire on his left, and his lesser council around him [3].

Passing through the great gateway, and not omitting to notice the bronze knockers on the double door, one of which, a fine Byzantine lion's head, may possibly have survived from the palace of 1388 or from the still older castle, we find ourselves in the interior cortile, a square enclosed by two stories of arcades and not deficient in dignity (Plate XLII). All the arches are round, and both the upper and lower cloisters are vaulted, the iron ties so general in Italian architecture being here

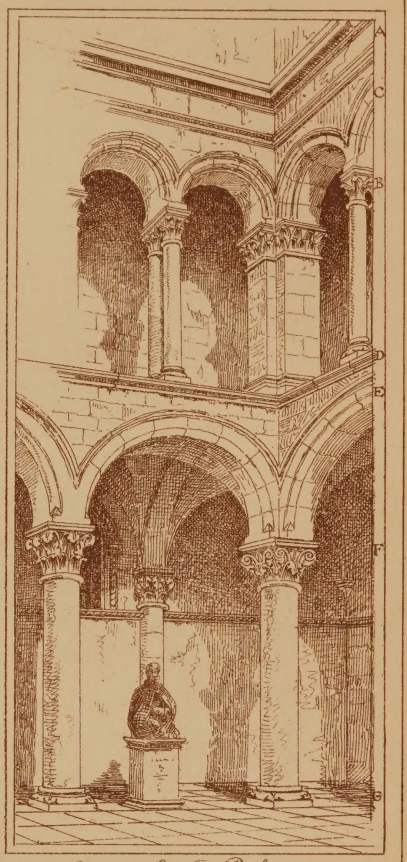
[1] Gelcich, p. 63.

[2] Shown incorrectly with two tiers in Prof. Eitelberger's drawing, Pl. xxiii, and in the sketch in Prof. Freeman's book, p. 245. There are, however, two tiers in the return across the north end.

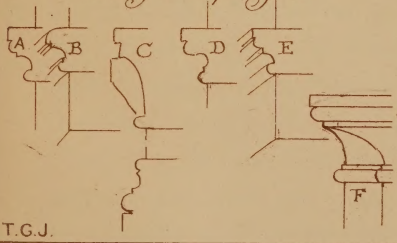
[3] The three northern arches were apparently once closed by a balustrade, of which the stopping is to be seen in the bases of the columns. This part may have been reserved originally for the magistracy.



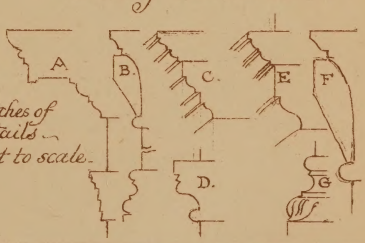
Court of the "Sponza"



Court of the Palace



Sketches of details not to scale.



T.G.J.

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for a wonder dispensed with. The lower arcade rests on plain cylindrical undiminished columns, with square plinths, and toes to the lower torus; the capitals are of a well-known renaissance type, with shallow square abaci, and the width of the impost of the arches is confined, classic fashion, to the top diameter of the shaft, the mouldings being rather clumsily distorted and pinched in at their springing to reduce the impost sufficiently. All the mouldings are stopped on square stoolings.

The upper arcade has twin columns, one behind the other, the effect of which is spoiled by a glazed partition set in the openings,—a sad disfigurement[1]. The carving is coarse, and the details commonplace. These arcades are not older than the fire of 1464, but the wall behind still contains doors with pointed tympanum, and windows of Venetian Gothic, which all belonged to Onofrio's palace.

On the left hand, as you enter, an imposing flight of stone steps of no great antiquity leads to the upper story, now the residence of the Capitano Distrettuale. But to the right, under the cloister, is a smaller staircase of Onofrio's building, which leads to the Mezzanine story and the hall of the Minore consiglio, and beside the door of this hall still remains the figure of Justice, '*Quaedam justitiae sculptura*' of De Diversis, holding her 'breve' with the now scarcely legible words 'Jussi summa mei,' &c. &c. She is carved on a bracket or console, and from behind her flowing drapery,

[1] This glazed partition is omitted in the illustration.

crinkled in crisp Dureresque folds, peep out the mutilated figures of two lions keeping guard, one on each side of her (Fig. 64). Here too is preserved that other capital of the rector administering justice (Plate XLIII) which De Diversis describes. It is not however in its original place, but serves as

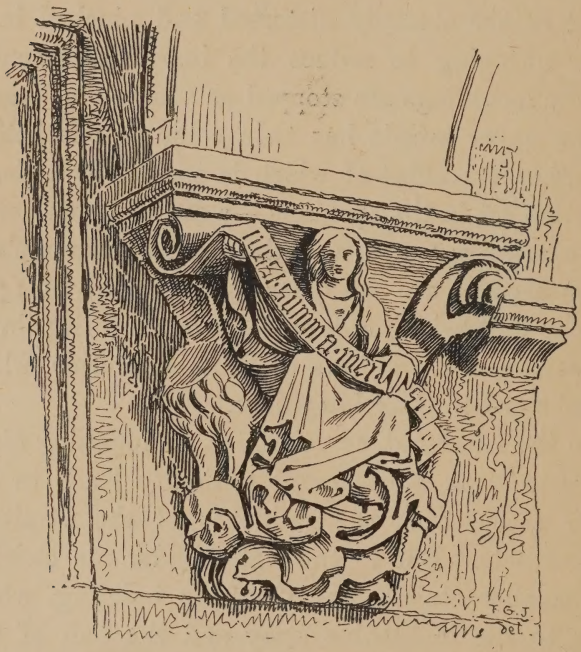

Fig. 64.

part of the capital of a detached square shaft, though a moment's observation shows that it once fitted a *round attached* shaft, and it is only adapted to the square pier by a rudely cut leaf which eases off the inconvenient angle. The style of the figures,

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Capital in the Palace.

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though they are on a much smaller scale, corresponds exactly with those of the Æsculapius and Solomon capitals, and the rector here wears the coif of a doctor of law, just as Solomon's principal law officer does. The culprit who is brought up for sentence has a dogged look, and the satisfied and complacent air of the officer who has 'run him in' is most amusingly expressed. On the return side is the secretary seated at a desk with a prisoner before him in custody of another officer.

This was evidently the capital of a respond or door jamb, and so agrees with De Diversis's language, '*In quodam angulo januae principalis habetur Rectoris injurias audientis similitudo.*' The janua principalis may have been the inner arch of the passage from the piazza.

The interior of the palace has been modernized, and contains little of interest, except two pictures. One hangs in the drawing-room of the Capitano Distrettuale, and is easily recognized by an Englishman as a duplicate of the Daphnis and Chloe, by Paris Bordone, in our National Gallery. The other picture is a lunette in a room of the Mezzanine, the old anteroom of the hall of the lesser council. It is an oil painting on canvas, in fair condition, and represents the Baptism of our Lord, with the three figures of Christ, an angel, and St. John. The faces are very beautiful, and the figures though lean and severe are well drawn. The water is treated conventionally, and stands on a heap, as in the Gothic sculptures. This interesting painting

is in the manner of Mantegna, and probably of his school.

The Duomo.

Of all the losses Ragusa sustained by the great earthquake of 1667 that of the ancient duomo is most to be regretted. Built about the opening of the thirteenth century, whether by the aid of King Richard of England or not we need not here stay to enquire, it must have been the most splendid monument in Dalmatia of a period which is but sparingly represented there. The description in De Diversis[1] is strangely incomprehensible in some particulars, but it produces a tantalizing impression of mosaic floors, vaulted roofs on lofty and massive columns, figures of animals inserted in the masonry, walls pictured with histories from the Old and New Testaments, marble thrones for the archbishop and the rector, a ciborium over the high altar resting on four columns, a silver 'pala' or reredos, a pulpit or ambo on columns of marvellous workmanship, and coloured glass in every window, great and small, casting a dim religious light on all these sacred objects. We make out that it was a church with nave and side aisles, the nave being appropriated to the men and the aisles to the women; custom would have required that it should end in three apses, though there is some evidence to the contrary, as we shall see hereafter[2]; and,

[1] De Diversis, ed. Brunelli, p. 28.

[2] Vid. infra, pp. 366 and 377.

with the additional aid of the model of Ragusa in the hand of the statuette of S. Biagio, we further gather that it had a cupola mounted on a drum pierced with windows, and that the nave had a low clerestory. There seems also to have been something of the nature of a triforium; at least in no other way can I understand the '*quaedam capella non tam pulchra quam devota*' which was formed above the vaulting of the aisles, and above which again were '*alii et superiores architecti usque fere ad operturam inferiorem templi*,' that is, up to the exterior roofing of the side aisles. One of the most singular parts of the design must have been the covered ambulatory or cloister decorated with carvings of various animals, which surrounded the church and reached to more than half the height of the aisle walls, and was covered by a leaden roof[1].

Thus much we may gather from the account of De Diversis, and the little silver model in the hand of the statue of S. Biagio. The details we must fill up from imagination by the analogy of other Dalmatian churches. This church was building at the same time that the naves of Lincoln and of Wells were rising in our own country in perfectly developed pointed architecture, but we must not suppose that the cathedral of Ragusa had, like them, shaken off

[1] De Diversis, p. 29, ed. Brunelli. 'Exterius habentes (sc. parietes) columnulas circum, unde facilis est gressus et deambulatio circa templum. Transcendit autem locus iste in modum deambulatorii medium altitudinis murorum cum multis diversorum animalium simulacris muris insertis, cooperatura ipsius plumbea.'

the earlier style. Like the duomo of Lucca, with which it was also coeval, it must have been a round-arched building, but unlike the Lombard buildings it no doubt retained the Byzantine detail, the crisply curved and sharply raffled leaves, and the flat shallow surface carving which prevails throughout Dalmatia, from Veglia and Arbe to Zara and Spalato, even in buildings that do not go back to the period of Byzantine rule.

Of the new duomo, built between 1671 and 1713, it is not necessary to say much. It is a fine spacious building in a tolerably pure classic style, which owes whatever charm it may possess to the lovely cream-coloured stone—almost a marble—of which it is built. The attractions it now offers are confined to the contents of the treasury and to a few of the pictures that hang on the walls.

The treasury is famous even among Dalmatian treasuries for the value and beauty of its contents. It is enclosed within massive doors and bars, and admission is only gained by the joint consent of the bishop, the commune, and the treasurer of the church, who have each a separate key to open a separate lock. It is extremely difficult to get leave for a prolonged examination of the contents or to take drawings of them, and till lately it seems to have been difficult even to enter the treasury at all. Mr. Neale[1] gazed hopelessly through the

[1] Notes on Dalmatia by the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A., Warden of Sackville College, published 1861. Hayes, Lyall Place, Eaton Square.

bars, and sighed in vain for only one half-hour to examine the precious objects behind them more closely, although he exhausted all the arts of persuasion and all the seductions of bribery upon the incorruptible attendants. I am indebted to the good offices of my kind friend Professor Giuseppe Gelcich for the permission, which was most liberally accorded me by the authorities of the church and the commune, to study and draw whatever I liked, and to stay as long as I wished; and the length of my observations was only limited by consideration for the courteous priest who attended as treasurer of the church, and the two servants of the archbishop and the commune, who also had to wait in charge of their respective keys as long as I remained there.

The principal object of interest in the collection is the crown-shaped casket of enamelled work, in which the Ragusans venerate the skull, or part of the skull, of their patron S. Biagio or St. Blaize (Plate XLIV). It measures $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter at the base, swells out to $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and is closed by a domed top, the total height being six inches; and it is just large enough to contain a skull without the lower jaw. The surface is covered with filagree and enamels. The groundwork, which is probably of copper, is entirely concealed by twenty-four distinct plaques of metal, on which the enamels and filagree are laid. These plaques are placed close together, edge to edge, but are not attached to one another; they are secured to the groundwork by little gold pins, and each is enclosed by a border of gold twist. Eight of them

surround the base, eight more the middle of the case, and the dome is formed by a circle of 'filigrana' in the centre, round which are the remaining eight plaques, four of them being triangular gussets and the other four rather more than squares. Setting aside the four triangular plaques, the other twenty have in the centre each a small medallion of thick metal, held by a vandyked border which is turned over to clip it. The eight in the middle tier are round and square alternately, and each bears the half-length figure of a saint in enamel on a gilt field, those on the square medallions being named successively from left to right SANTVS BLASIVS—SANTVS MATEVS—SANTVS IACOBVS—SANTVS PETRVS. These names are in Lombardic letters, and Professor Eitelberger remarks that they have been added subsequently to the original enamelling. The saints on the round medallions are anonymous.

In the lower tier all the medallions are round, and bear alternately a figure and an ornamental pattern. The figures are our Lord with the monograms $\overline{\text{IC}}$ · $\overline{\text{XC}}$ — S · IO · $\overline{\text{BAPT}}$ — $\bar{\text{S}}$ · ꝯenobius — $\bar{\text{S}}$ · Ioƀes ƐbĀgelisa[1], i. e. Evangelista.

On the dome are four saints, $\bar{\text{S}}$. $\bar{\text{M}}$, which Professor Eitelberger interprets 'Saint Michael,' $\bar{\text{S}}$. BLASIVS for the second time, $\bar{\text{S}}$. PETRVS also for the second time, and S. ANDREAS.

The whole surface, where not occupied by the medallions, is covered with the richest and most

[1] Prof. Eitelberger, p. 329, reads this name S. IOHES. S. BARESIS, St. John of Bari (??).

T·G·J· del· 1884 ·

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Inches

0 1 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 Centimetri

Reliquiario del teschio di S. Biagio.

INK-PHOTO. SERAGLIO & Cº LONDON.

delicate enamel work; amid which in the upper part are introduced rosettes of pearls, each separate pearl pinned on with a little gold nail through it; and little flies or bees modelled in relief and with enamelled wings are crawling towards these precious flowers as if to sip their sweets[1].

Of the date of this reliquary no one has spoken with any confidence. Resti believes it to have been brought hither from the Levant in 1026. De Diversis does not mention it in his account of the treasures of the duomo. Professor Eitelberger merely observes that it has lost some of its value by the addition of names to the saints in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or even later. The close examination, however, which, by the courtesy of the custodians, I was allowed to make of this reliquary, which is generally only venerated at a distance and seldom handled, has enabled me to ascertain the exact date of at all events the greater part of the casket as it at present exists.

When studied closely it becomes apparent that the reliquary is the work of very different hands and widely different periods. The medallions are executed in a manner quite different from the rest; but in order to make this difference intelligible to general readers it will be necessary perhaps to explain briefly the two methods of enamelling practised during the middle ages.

The first kind, '*cloisonné*' enamel, to use the French name, or filagree-mosaic enamel, as Digby

[1] These flies are omitted in Prof. Eitelberger's Plate xxvi.

Wyatt[1] calls it, was a Byzantine art which was practised from the time of Justinian downwards, and the method of workmanship is described in a treatise by the artist-monk Theophilus, written probably about the eleventh century, when this art attained its perfection. The method is this. Long narrow ribands of gold set on edge are bent to the forms of the patterns desired, and are then soldered down to a plate of metal; the cells thus formed are filled in with enamel made of powdered glass, and the whole is fired till the glass melts and adheres to the metal back and the dividing ribands. The surface is then rubbed down and polished, and the design is given by the mosaic of enamel, sharply outlined by the thin gold line which is the edge of the gold riband.

Champlevé enamel is exactly the reverse of cloisonné. As before, the object is to form cells to contain the enamel; but they are formed by being chased out of a solid plate of copper, and the dividing lines are left in the solid metal of the plate instead of being put on as in the Byzantine method. The enamel is put in, fired, and the whole polished, when the effect is very like that of cloisonné enamel, though the dividing lines are less delicate, and being of copper instead of gold they require to be gilt. This was the method of the early Limoges enamels of the twelfth thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The medallions in this reliquary of S. Biagio are executed principally though not entirely in the

[1] Digby Wyatt, Metal-work, &c., p. xlv.

cloisonné manner. The whole space within the outline of the figure is sunk or '*champlevé*,' but the dividing fillets are put on as in cloisonné work, not left in the solid metal of the plate as in true champlevé. The colours in these medallions are flat and uniform, not graduated, and are all divided by metal lines which give the drawing. Even the minute black lines of the eyebrows are enclosed within a gold line, and so is the red colour of the lips, while the nose is only defined on the white enamel of the face by the gold thread with which it is drawn. These medallions are apparently Byzantine works of the eleventh or more likely the twelfth century.

The lovely scrolls of flowers and leaves that cover the whole surface of the casket between the medallions are executed in a totally different way. They too follow to some extent the cloisonné mode, for they are all made by fixing gold ribands on edge upon the back plate and filling enamel into the cups or cells so formed. But in the first place, only the flowers and leaves and fruits are filled in with enamel, while their stalks are simply represented by the gold threads, and the ground is not filled in at all,—a startling departure from ordinary use,—the copper back plate being exposed, and all the enamelled scrolls consequently being raised above it by the width of the gold ribands. In the next place the enamel of the flowers is shaded and marked with little fibres and spots in other colours, and instead of being polished smooth the surface

remains as it came out of the furnace, slightly rounded and uneven.

As I went on hour after hour with my drawing the conviction grew stronger that this part of the work must be very modern indeed compared with the plaques of Byzantine enamel, and at last the casket itself yielded to my perseverance and gave up its secret. Some erratic little lines of twisted gold close to the lower edge began to shape themselves into letters, and finally, to my astonishment, I read as follows:—

Franco Ferro Veneto · F . A · 1694

The reliquary is in fact only 190 years old, though it has affixed to it twenty-four medallions of Byzantine work, which are no doubt part of an older casket. It may however be doubted whether these medallions all belonged originally to the same object, for it will be observed that there are two pictures of St. Blaize and two of St. Peter, which may once have formed parts of two different sets.

The delicacy and beauty of the later enamel almost passes belief; so minute is it that it is impossible to draw it correctly without the help of a powerful lens. The petals of the little flowers are exquisitely pencilled with rose or puce colour, and in the little pomegranates near the base the seeds are represented by dots of raised gold smaller than the smallest pin's head. The rich effect of the whole is due in a great measure to the pattern being raised, and to the deep reddish colour of the copper ground behind.

Among the other treasures of the duomo is a fine ostensorio or monstrance, surmounted by a crucifix and sparingly decorated with enamel, whose crisply curling and wiry leaves seem to proclaim its origin in the land of Albert Dürer. There is also a fine cross with an elegant frilling of silver, containing what the Ragusans exhibit with pride as an unusually large piece of the true cross. Also a silver hand-case with lovely filagree, and leg cases and arm cases of late fourteenth century work, some perhaps earlier, and one inscribed as the gift of TOMASO PALEOLOGO DESPOTA DEL PELOPONESO DONATO A GIORGIO RADOVANOVICH CIVI RAGVSEO · 1452[1]. It has some good enamels.

More curious and amazing is the famous ewer and basin, the same, according to tradition, which was made for Archbishop Maffei by Giovanni Progonović, of the island of Mezzo, and intended as a present to Matthias Corvinus. The archbishop died in 1470, before the gift was effected, and left the ewer and basin by will to his nephew, Cristoforo Maffei. Nothing more deceptively natural has ever been done in the silversmith's art. The ewer holds what

[1] Thomas Palaeologus, Despot of Achaia, was the youngest brother of the Emperor Constantine XI. A silver bull of his in 1451 confers on the Ragusans certain commercial advantages, and the right of a loggia of their own, and a consul of their own appointment with jurisdiction over their countrymen. He was expelled by the Turks in 1460, and died at Rome 1465. Du Cange, quoted Eitelberger, p. 329. This reliquary was given by him to Giorgio Radovanović Crescimani in gratitude for the offer of a ship to convey him away in safety when the Turks invaded his state. Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 60.

seems at first sight a bunch of dried grasses and leaves, which prove to be of silver like the ewer itself, enamelled and stained with extraordinary fidelity to nature. The dish is strewn with fern leaves that tempt you to take them up, and among them are numerous eels lizards and creeping things modelled in silver, tinted to imitate nature with wonderful skill, and fixed loosely so as to seem to wriggle naturally when water was poured into the dish. It is the freak of a clever workman, but too laborious for a freak, and too deceptively natural to be ranked high as a work of art.

It would be interesting if it could be proved that the ewer and basin were made by goldsmiths of Ragusa or Mezzo, but the plate mark, an N within a circle, is not that of Ragusa, and it is suggested by Prof. Gelcich that it may be that of Nuremberg. That they can be the pieces of plate mentioned in the will of Archbishop Maffei in 1470 is quite impossible; the design and style of workmanship belong to a much later period, and the real date is probably quite at the end of the sixteenth if not in the seventeenth century[1]. The character of the design

[1] The will of Archbishop Maffei, of which the following is an extract, does not describe the plate bequeathed:—

'Ex testam^to^. Thimothei Maffei Archiep^i^. Racuſini d. d. xx Apr. MCCCCLXX.

'. . . . habeo libroſ, pecuniaſ et argenteriaſ, quę intendo distribuere pro anima mea: pro nunc dico quod inter alia habeo Boccale et Bacile de argento, quae feci fieri pro itinere Hungarię, quod Bacile et Boccale est adhuc in manibuſ aurificiſ: dictum Boccale et Bacile dono, trado, et aſigno Christophoro nepoti meo sibi, tibi notario recipienti pro ipso Christophoro, quia ipsum amavi ut

confirms the conjecture based on the plate mark, that the workmanship is that of Nuremberg. That it has no resemblance to the work of the silversmiths of Mezzo in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be seen at a glance by comparing it with the famous chalice of Mezzo, which probably dates from about the year 1500 (infra, Plate L).

The most important painting in the duomo is a very beautiful early Flemish triptych in the style of Memling, and not unworthy of his hand. It is described at length by Prof. Eitelberger.

The Dogana or Sponza.

The most striking building in Ragusa, next to the palace, is undoubtedly the Sponza or Dogana, the ancient custom-house and mint of the Republic. It stands in the Corso, overshadowed by the town belfry, and facing the open space that corresponds to the Venetian Piazzetta, on one side of which is situated the rectorial palace. Viewed in the reverse

filium, et nihil sibi ſolvi pro mercede sua annorum trium, quibus mihi servivit, volo quod d. Boccale et Bacile sit suum et quodam modo intelligatur suum, et tanquam reſ sua propria, et quod videatur computum pecuniarum quas habuit aurifex pro d. Boccali et Bacili . . . et si quid restat solvi pro reſiduo pretii ipsiuſ Boccaliſ et Baciliſ, solvatur deſ meiſ pecuniiſ, dicto aurifici . . .

(Ex margine dicti instrumenti) die 27 Aprilis MCCCCLXX.

'Christophoruſ de Maffeis, cui facta fuit donatio, traditio, et aſſignatio conscripta Boccaliſ et Baciliſ de argento, confeſſuſ fuit, quod habuit et accepit a Joanne Progonovich aurifice dictum Boccale et Bacile, quod B. et B. ponderatum fuit et receptum est ad rectum ponduſ Libraſ sex, unciam unam, exagia quatuor . . . .

'Ex Metropoliſ Racuſinę Historia de Seraphini Cerva, n. 41.'

direction from the steps of the duomo these two buildings and the civic campanile combine to form a group of public buildings and present a picture of mediæval municipal life not easily to be matched for beauty and interest, the effect being enhanced by the mighty mass of Monte Sergio, against which they are relieved (Plate XXXVIII).

The Dogana is a three-storied building, surrounding a courtyard. The groundfloor was occupied by the Sponza or custom-house where, as the name implies, were the public scales for weighing merchandize, which hung in the arch at the end of the court, above which in lead letters inlaid in the stone may be read this distich—

FALLERE $\overline{\text{NRA}}$ VETANT ET FALLI PONDERA MEQ ·
PONDERO CVM MERCES PONDERAT IPSE DEVS ·

The first floor was devoted to social gatherings and literary assemblies of the nobility and men of learning, and in the second floor was the mint.

Prof. Eitelberger publishes the statutes of the Dogana compiled in 1277[1], in the time of Marco Giustiniani, count of Ragusa. The preamble states that these rules are drawn up because the numerous rules of preceding counts were '*confusa, in plerisque contraria, discrepantia in nonnullis, et in pluribus defectiva, quod plerumque tam inter judices quam inter doanerios contentiones oriebantur et ipsorum voluntates et oppiniones discrepabant in plurimis.*' They deal with export dues on Ragusan manu-

[1] Vid. above, note to p. 292.

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La Sponza.

factures or articles sold from the city to foreigners, with duty on the purchase of slaves[1] or their removal from Ragusan territory, with duty on purchase of land houses or other real property, and on export of hawks (from which Venetians are exempted), with duty on the sale of fresh and salt meat in the public market, with excise on wine and oil, and duty on goldsmith's work. No one was to leave Ragusa with or without merchandize unless he presented himself to the doganieri and made oath, and no ship was to sail without their licence. Other ordinances by subsequent counts and rectors follow, and after 1332, for the first time, the Italian language begins to appear instead of Latin, though only occasionally.

The Sponza (Plate XLV) is obviously the work of two, if not three, epochs. The original building was probably the groundfloor with its arcades and warehouses surrounding the courtyard. It was already an ancient building in 1440 when De Diversis described it[2], and it is certain that a 'Sponza was standing in 1312, because the government in that year ordered its completion[3]. If the groundfloor is older than that date the work then ordered and

[1] Slave-dealing was afterwards condemned by the statutes of 1417. Vid. supra, p. 299.

[2] 'Est et alter locus ibi prope qui spongia vel potius mercantiarium extimatio, quae in ballis extra feruntur, ab omnibus nuncupatur. Hanc domum antiqui struxerant amplam cum cisterna et cameris et porticibus, semotam quidem a vicinia, ut advenarum hospitium existeret.' De Diversis, ed. Brunelli, p. 42.

[3] 'Quod Sponzia compleatur.' Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 73.

begun was probably the first floor surrounding the interior cortile with an upper order of arches. But there is very little difference in date between the two stories: both have the same square soffits to the arches, the details of their mouldings are extremely alike, and although in the long sides of the oblong court the upper tier of arches are pointed while those below are round, in the narrow ends of the court the arches are round both on ground and first floor.

This double cloister is an admirable piece of plain, useful, and not ungraceful architecture, not too showy for the commonplace purposes of the building, and yet well proportioned and carefully built. It would be difficult to devise anything more suitable and appropriate (Plate XLII). The lower arcade springs from octagonal columns, with no bases, and with very short capitals abruptly stopped out into a square abacus and impost. The arch has a plain square soffit and a richly moulded label. The upper arcade has two arches to one of those below, with square piers over the inferior columns, and columns over the centre of the arch. The capitals are foliated, some '*à crochet*,' some with deflected leaves at the angles, according to a well known Italian type. The early work ends with the moulded stringcourse above this story. The third story or second floor, belongs apparently to the date of the inscription on the end wall 1520, and the monogram I·H·S above it was, no doubt, put there after the great earthquake

of that year[1]. The inscription is of lead letters beaten into the stone, and reads thus :—

NVMEN · ADORANDVM · FELIX · ET · AMABILE · NOMEN
RHACVSAM · TITVLO · PROSPERIORE · IVVA
IMPLE · HOSTES · TERRE OR · FVGA · FORMIDINE · NOSTRIS
DA · PATEANT · TERRE · CIVIBVS · ET · MARIA
DA · PATEAT · CAELVM · TVTA · OMNIA · SISQ · SALVTI
NANQ · SALVTIFERVM · NOMEN · IESVS · HABET
A · S · M D X X
L · C · P · L

The initials are those of Elio Lampridio Cerva, poet laureate, who died in 1520, the year of this inscription. The doors of the warehouses opening from the lower cloister have the names of saints over them, S·IOANNES BAPTISTA—S·PETRVS·ET·PAVLVS —S·STEFANVS—S · HIERONYMVS—S·HYLARION·ABB— S · BLASIVS. The other three have been altered. The warehouses within are covered with plain cross vaulting without ribs.

The facade towards the piazza has in front of it a very handsome renaissance loggia, prettily proportioned and full of good detail. This, like the third story, was no doubt added in 1520. Behind this, on the groundfloor, are the windows and doors of the dogana; while the first floor above has a grand arrangement of Gothic windows, with tracery and ogeed head, so thoroughly Venetian in style that they might have been brought from the grand canal, which cannot be older than the

[1] Vid. supra, p. 302.

fifteenth century. The upper story of the front, like that of the interior, is of renaissance work.

Composite as it is in style and date, the building is a very charming one, and not a little of its piquancy is due to the fantastic battlements, or shall we call them pinnacles, that stand along the eaves, like those of the Ca d' oro at Venice.

The building still serves as the dogana of the city ; its court is piled with cases and packages, though not so thickly as in the palmy days of the republic, and is crowded with contadini in the gay costume of the Canali. Here too as of old one may hear the disputes between the 'doanerii' and the citizens whose '*voluntates et oppiniones discrepant in plurimis*,' in spite of the labours of Marco Giustiniani and others. The rooms on the first floor, where the learned societies of Ragusa used to meet[1], are now offices. Here must often have been seen the mathematicians Ghetaldi and Boscovich, whose European reputation reflected such honour on their country, Elio Lampridio Cerva the poet laureate, Archbishop Beccatello the correspondent of our English Cardinal Pole, and the friend of Michelagnolo Buonarroti who addressed him in a sonnet[2], and the other illustrious

[1] Prof. Eitelberger, p. 324, ed. 1884, mentions two such societies. That known as the 'Concordi' was founded principally for the cultivation of Italian literature, though some attention was apparently paid to South Slavonian literature as well.

[2] Sonnet LXI. a Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli arcivescovo

Ragusans who earned for their little republic the title of the Dalmatian Athens [1].

The Dominican Convent.

The Dominicans on their arrival at Ragusa were first established in the little old church of S. Giacomo in Peline, described above [2], and did not move to their present site till between 1245 and 1253, and their new church was not opened for divine worship till 1306 [3]. In 1348 the convent with its cloister seems to have been completed; and 1424, according to Prof. Gelcich, is the date of the campanile, the architect being Fra Stefano a brother of the order, though that can be only the date of its beginning, for De Diversis in 1440 speaks of it as still incomplete and growing daily [4]. Though built in the fifteenth century this campanile has round arches, and shafts set back to the centre of the wall—Prof. Willis's 'midwall shafts'—as if it had been built in the eleventh or twelfth. The

di Ragusi. Michelagnolo regrets the unlikelihood of their meeting again.

'Pur s' aspra terra e mar difficil tiene
L' un dall' altro lontan, lo spirto e 'l zelo
Non avra intoppi nè per neve o gielo
Nè l' ali del pensier lacci o catene.'

[1] Vid. supra, General History, vol. I. p. 179.

[2] Vid. p. 326.

[3] Gelcich, Ragusa, pp. 17, 23.

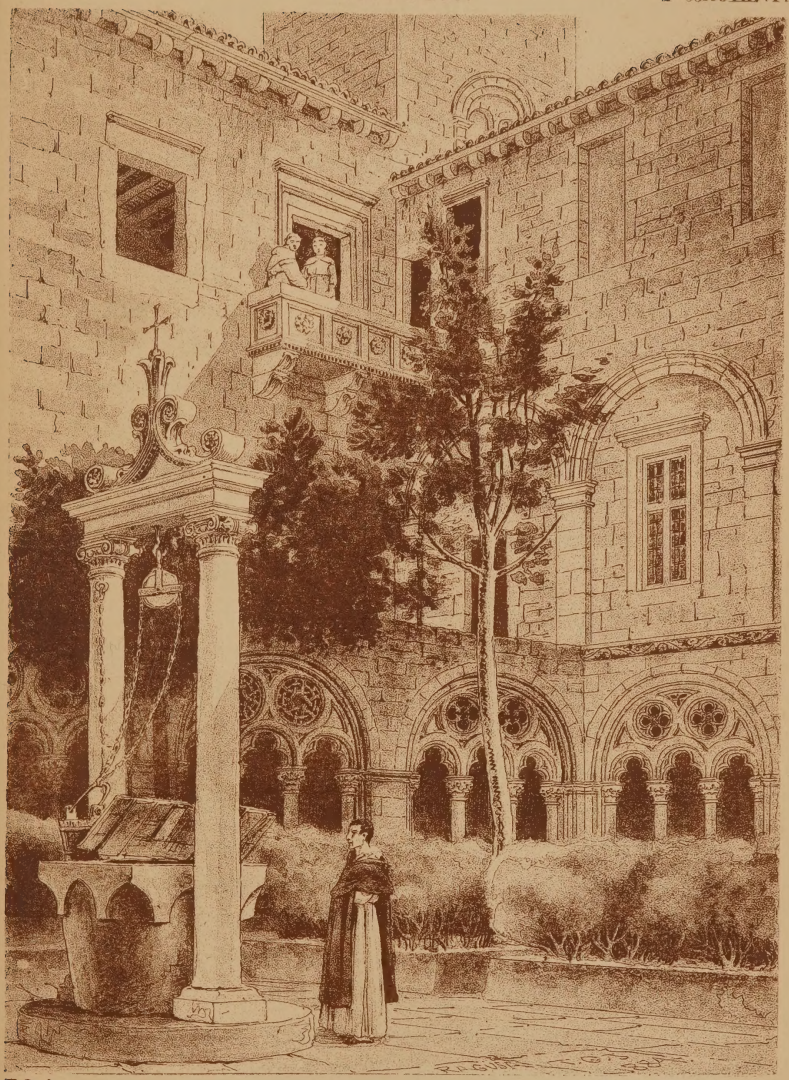
[4] 'Campanile nondum completum in dies crescit.' De Diversis, ed. Brunelli, p. 35.

original part finishes below the lantern with a cornice of round arches. The lantern stage is 'barocco.'

The church consists of a single vast nave, which is crossed towards the east end by a triple arch, defining the choir and two lateral chapels, a not uncommon plan in the churches of the preaching orders. The east end is polygonal. Earthquakes and repeated repairs have left but little of the original building; the choir may be ancient, but is so simple as to have hardly any architectural character; and the only feature of any interest that belongs to this date is the fine south doorway, with a round arch of many receding orders under an ogee crocketted hood mould, the whole having a strong flavour about it of German Gothic, which is increased by the tall moulded bases of the jamb shafts[1]. The occurrence of this German feeling in Dalmatia is always worth noticing.

But in the cloister (Plate XLVI) there is no trace of a northern hand. The Dalmatian was here left to work out his Gothic in his own way, and though he failed to grasp the idea of receding orders in the arch, or consistent mouldings in his tracery, he succeeded in evolving out of his inner consciousness a charming cloister, shocking in many ways to the northern purist, but perhaps on that account the more interesting to those who love to see the workman reflected in his work, and value

[1] Eitelberger, p. 336, gives an elevation of this doorway, and p. 333 a plan of church and convent.



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Dominican Convent.

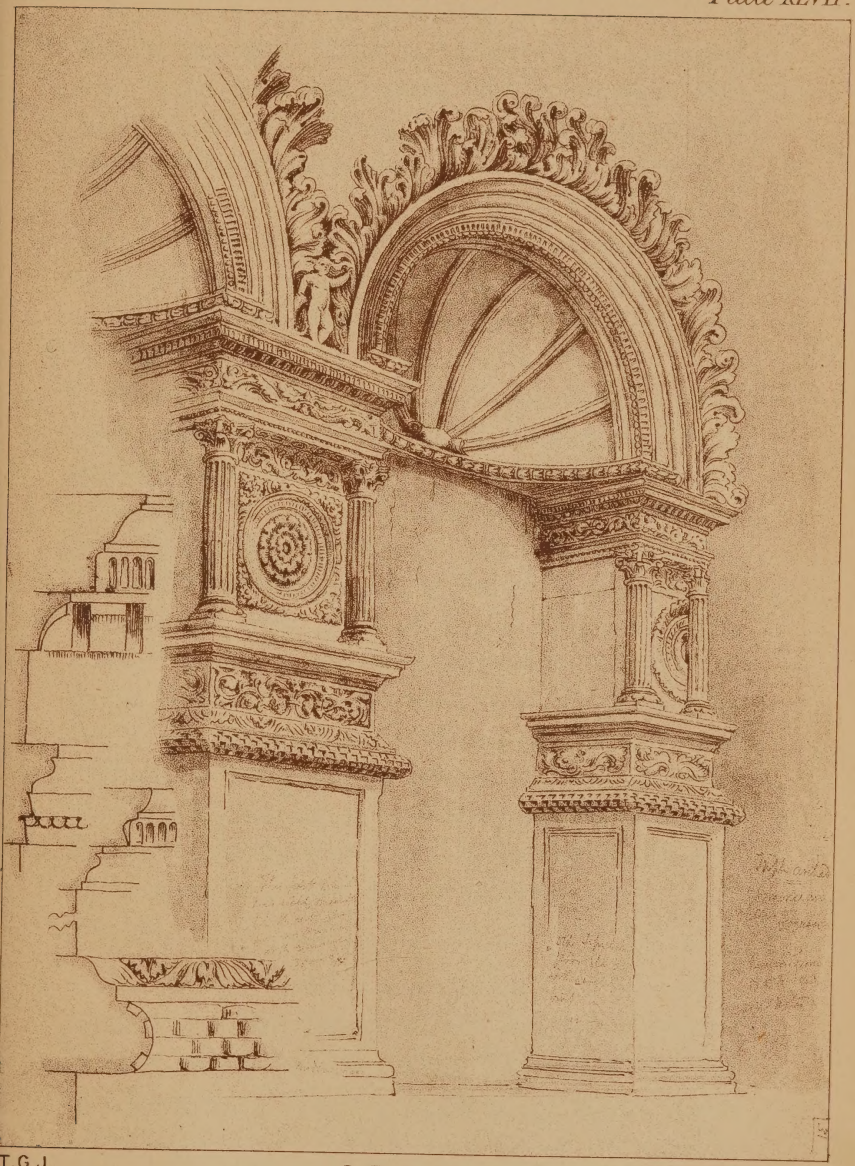
evidence of thought more than architectural propriety. Classic traditions are vindicated in the robust columns with Attic base and square capital, but their foliage is of Venetian Gothic, and the solid shield of the semicircular head is pierced with two circles containing quatrefoils alternately with a delicate ornament formed of interlacing circles unknown to pure Gothic architecture, but not on that account the less piquant and effective. The cloister forms a charming picture, with its Venetian well, its cherry and orange trees, and its evergreens whose rich dark foliage so well relieves the mellow white of the walls. The convent that surrounds it still retains a good deal of its original architecture, and contains some rooms with fair plaster ceilings of a later date. The well in the centre of the cloister bears the date 1623.

I must not forget to mention the very fine triple arch (Plate XLVII) now standing across the west end of the nave, whither it has been removed from the north side, where it once contained three altars. The removal took place about three years ago, and in the process the lower part of the ornaments of the piers was by some carelessness lost or destroyed. Aided by two of the friars, and their servant boy with a lantern, I searched two or three lumber vaults of the convent for the missing fragments, but in vain. More is the pity, for the part that is lost is said to have been especially good. The whole is in a mixed style, the arched recesses being of renaissance work, and the crockets of late Gothic

like those over the doorways of S. Zaccaria and S. Stefano at Venice.

There are some good early pictures in the choir chapels which deserve study, and the painted crucifix in a dry Byzantine style that hangs over the choir arch is interesting, as having been vowed during the *black death* of 1348. One of the early pictures, on a gold ground, resembles so closely the work of a Ragusan artist, Nicolò, who painted about 1520, that there can be little doubt of its being by his hand. It is valuable historically because it represents S. Biagio with a model of the town in his hand, but unluckily the rector's palace is hidden, and the part containing the old duomo is broken away, though enough remains to shew that the facade had tiers of arcading, and that there was no apse at the east end.

Over the first altar to the left hand in the church is a picture by Titian, in good condition, given by one of the Pozza family which is still resident at Ragusa. In the centre is the Magdalen with clasped hands and flowing tresses. To her right is a fine figure of S. Biagio in white mitre and crimson velvet robe, his pastoral staff in his right hand, and a model of the city in his left. To her left, in the corner, kneels the donor Pozza with a little child, over whom bends a youthful angel with dark blue dress and wings, a very graceful and attractive figure. The two latter figures are Tobit and the angel Raphael, and probably Raffaelle and Maddalena were the names of the donor and his wife.



T.G.J.

S. Domenico.

INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & Co LONDON.

In the sacristy is preserved a silver cross of Ourosh the Great of Servia. It is of the patriarchal form, with two cross arms, and is covered with inscriptions in the Illyric language, but has nothing else specially Slavonic about it[1]. It was restored in 1548, to which date may belong the Ponza or Hall mark of Ragusa which I found on it, and to the same period may belong the pierced paterae of ordinary Italian Gothic work which form its only ornamentation.

Professor Gelcich[2] points out that the two great convents, especially that of the Dominicans which actually abuts on the town walls, were evidently intended to add to the strength of the town. In fact by the rules of the city the Dominicans were charged with the defence of Porta Plocce, and the Franciscans with that of Porta Pile, while the canons of the duomo were responsible for that of Porta Pescheria. In the same way, since most of the towers and bastions on the walls formed part of patrician houses, each proprietor was charged with the duty of manning and maintaining that belonging to him, while the State itself undertook the charge of the more important towers and forts.

Franciscan Church and Convent. The original settlement of the Minorites, who arrived at Ragusa in 1235, was outside the Porta Pile, and it was not

[1] The inscriptions are given at length by Prof. Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 59.

[2] Gelcich, Ragusa, pp. 26, 27.

till 1317 that they were removed to the inside. At that time Ragusa was harassed by constant invasions of the Servians under Ourosh[1], and the convent afforded a convenient shelter to his troops, to prevent which the republic destroyed it and built the friars a new convent at the public expense[2] within the Porta Pile.

The church and convent were seriously injured at the time of the great earthquake in 1667, less by the convulsion itself than by the subsequent fire and the marauders who availed themselves of the confusion to ply their trade. The infirmary was thrown down by the shock, burying a sick brother in its ruins, and the friars fled the town, leaving the lay sacrist Elia da Canali in charge of the buildings. The depredators tried several times to set fire to the cloister, but Fra Elia succeeded in putting the flames out till at last, on the third day, the conflagration spread from a neighbouring house to the choir of the church. It burned the '*miraculous crucifix that rested on the beam over the high altar, burned many pictures by able pencils, burned the precious altar of massive silver and twenty-six silver statues a braccio and a half high that adorned it, and burned the very beautiful ceiling of the church, a masterpiece of carving and gilding*[3]. *The fire also destroyed the marvellous choral books given to the*

[1] Vid. History of Ragusa, above, p. 294.

[2] Resti and Ragnina, quoted Brunelli, p. 40.

[3] Decorated with paintings attributed to Titian. Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 80.

convent by Catterina queen of Bosnia[1], *wife of Tommaso Cotroman, when the Ottoman conquests drove her into exile from her realm. The wonderful delicacy of the gilded miniatures with which they were adorned, and the profuse magnificence of their binding had made them an object of admiration and of wonder to all who possessed a sense of artistic beauty. More than* 6500 *precious volumes, arranged in good order in the ample and very elegant library, in which were preserved the archives of the Province, rich in very ancient and precious manuscripts, were unhappily reduced to ashes*[2].'

It may be easily understood from this that the convent has been extensively modernized; but it still contains a great deal of interesting architecture. The fine campanile remains, and forms one of the main ornaments of the Corso. The top stage with its cupola is later than the earthquake, but the rest is of the original building in the fourteenth century, and it is instructive to notice how the use of the round arch was retained even at that date, though mixed with pointed architecture. There is also a fine doorway of late Italian Gothic in the side of

[1] She was the daughter of Stefano Cosaccia, duke of S. Sava or Herzegovina, and wife of Stephen Thomas, the last legitimate king of Bosnia, murdered in 1460 by his half-brother and his illegitimate son Stephen Tomasović, the last king of Bosnia, who was himself flayed alive by Mahomet II in 1463 (vid. vol. i. pp. 131, 145). Queen Catherine fled to Ragusa and resided there till 1475, when she retired to a convent in Rome, where she died. Mr. Evans (Bosnia and Herzegovina) gives a representation of her tomb in the church of Ara Celi, copied from an engraving of 1677.

[2] P. Evang. Cusmich, quoted by Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 186.

the church that flanks the Corso, with a 'pietà' in a central niche. With these the interest of the church ends, but as we pass through the door into the cloister we find nothing further to awaken our regrets. The cloister (Plate XLVIII) is a piece of architecture so singular and interesting that one almost forgets to regret the art treasures of which the earthquake and the Morlacchi have deprived us. Though built in the first half of the fourteenth century all its arches are round and its details have a romanesque character. Each bay consists of a group of six roundheaded lights divided by coupled octagonal shafts, above which the tympanum of the round including arch is pierced with a large circle. Most of these circles are cusped into a quatrefoil, but the central one on each side of the cloister is not cusped but

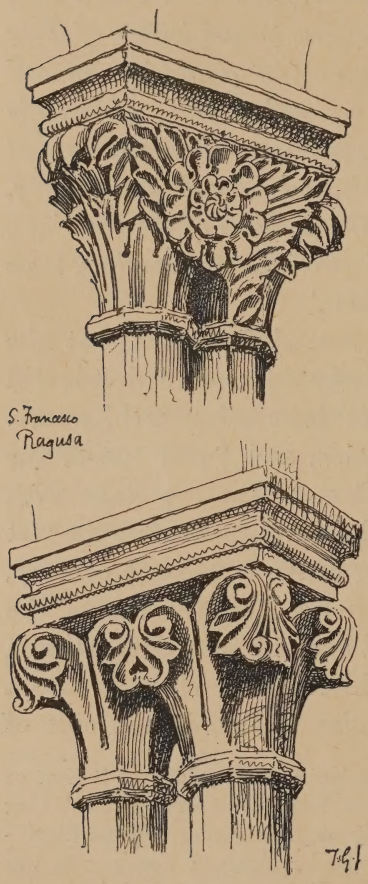


Fig. 65.

T.G.J.

Franciscan Convent.

INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & Co LONDON.

ornamented by a rich border of acanthus leaves laid on the waved section of the splay and radiating from the centre outwards. The coupled shafts stand one behind the other, and have a common base and a common abacus, which is long enough to receive the full thickness of the wall above. The capitals (Figs. 65, 66, 67) are fantastic and capricious in the highest degree, recalling the wildest and most grotesque fancies of early romanesque work, full of grinning heads, masks, animals, monsters of various kinds, dragons and winged beasts, mixed up with conventional foliage, spiral volutes, and block leaves that are quite primitive in the rudeness of their design. Except in one place, where one pair of shafts and the stone that first rests on them have been shifted a few inches from under their load, the earthquake had no effect on this cloister, its escape

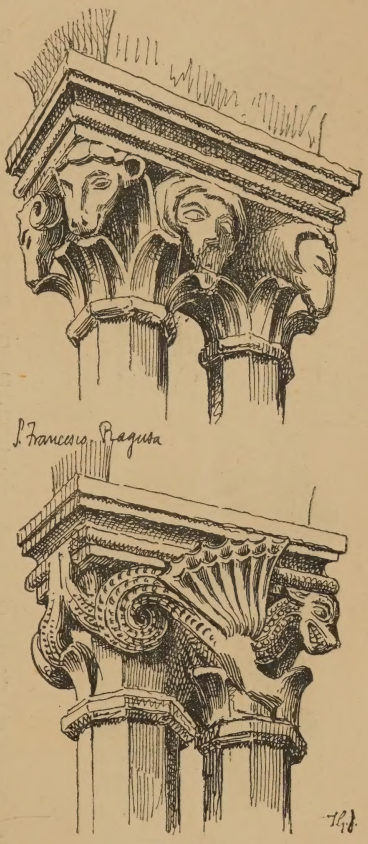


Fig. 66.

being the more remarkable on account of the extreme lightness of the columns that support it.

It is one of the most singular pieces of architecture I have ever seen, and it is still more interesting because the name and birthplace of its architect, Master Mycha, an Albanian of Antivari, are fortunately preserved to us. His epitaph (Fig 68) remains cut in the south-east angle pier, without the date it is true, but in proximity to two other inscriptions (Figs. 69, 70), dated 1363 and 1428, with which it may be compared; and as the style of the lettering is if anything earlier than that of 1363, we may fairly conclude that the cloister was built shortly after the foundation of the new convent in 1317.

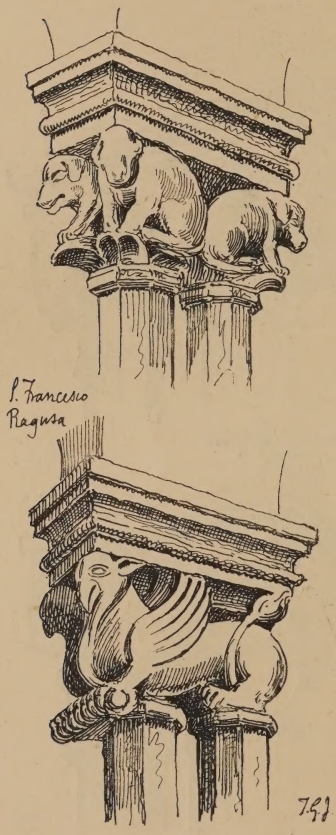


Fig. 67.

From the east wall three fine arches of good detail open into the old chapter-house, which however is no longer used for that purpose. The elegant balustraded parapet remains only on one

side of the cloister: it corresponds in style with the work below, and must be of the same date, in spite of the fact that the year 1629 is cut on the back of one of the stones, the date probably of some repairs.

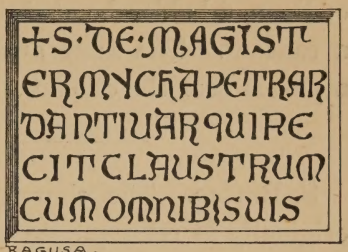


Fig. 68.

This cloister with its orange trees, shrubs, and fountain, and the tempting seats where the friars sit in shade or sunshine according as the hour or season may invite, is not less charming than that of the Dominicans[1].

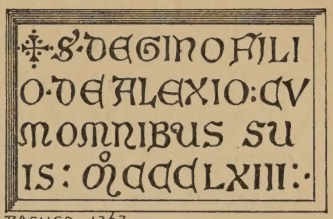


Fig. 69.

In the sacristy is a beautiful monstrance, said to be the work of the famous goldsmiths of Mezzo. The grand old Gothic case in which the church plate is kept is also well worth seeing; it opens like a cupboard with great doors above the altar,

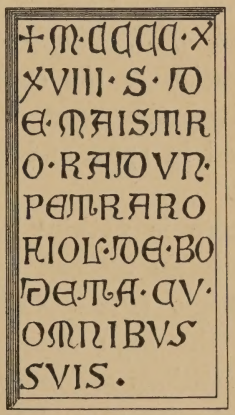


Fig. 70.

[1] De Diversis speaks of the fountain and the *lauri et aranciorum arbores* in this cloister in his time.

and is painted with the arms of the patrician house of Bona, a ladder bendwise and an eagle (gules) on a canton[1]. The same arms occur over the door of a palace near the duomo.

S. Biagio. The church of S. Biagio was built originally in consequence of a vow made during the visitation of the plague in 1348, and it was finished, according to Ragnina, within three years, that is before 1352. Though a century later than the duomo it seems to have been built in a similar style: De Diversis speaks of the same kind of decoration by carvings of animals, the same outer cloisters surrounding the walls, and says that, '*setting aside the number of altars, the size of the building, and the chapels or chapel of the relics, you saw in the church of S. Biagio a resemblance in form and decoration to the cathedral church.*' The church survived the great earthquake of 1667, but was burned in 1706, and rebuilt in its present form in 1715.

There is nothing now to be seen here of any remarkable interest except the silver statuette of S. Biagio (Plate XLIX), which occupies a niche over the high altar, and is an object of much superstitious reverence. I was anxious to have an opportunity of studying this figure closely, not only because of its artistic merit, but because it holds in

[1] Vid. Wappenbuch des Konigsreichs Dalmatien, von Rosenfeld. Nürnberg, 1874.

RAGUSA.

SILVER STATUETTE OF S.T BIAGIO.

its hand the silver model of the town to which I have several times referred, and which shews the buildings of which the great earthquake of 1667 and subsequent calamities have deprived us. The sanctity of the image however made it very difficult to get leave to remove it from its niche and examine it. The bishop indeed raised no difficulty, and made light of the scruples of the clergy of S. Biagio, who constitute a chapter between which and the canons of the duomo no little jealousy prevails. But it took a great deal of diplomacy on the part of my friend Prof. Gelcich to induce the Parroco of S. Biagio to consent; and when at last, armed with the bishop's fiat, I got my way, it was almost pitiable to see the genuine terror with which the guardians of the church removed the image and consigned it to the vestry table to be drawn and measured and profanely examined.

Deposed from its niche the statuette proved to have only a front of silver, the back being a shapeless block of wood. The silver front itself is not wholly in its original state; its present dumpy proportion must surely be the result of some curtailment; the mitre has been renewed in later times, and so has the crook of the pastoral staff, and it is doubtful whether the dalmatic or under vestment is of the same date as the upper vestment or chasuble, the workmanship of which is far superior. The head is well imagined, the expression venerable and the execution good, and the hair and beard are very carefully chased. The head and the chasuble seem

to me the oldest parts of the figure; and as the diaper on the latter cannot, from its character, be earlier than the fourteenth century, I should imagine that the figure was originally made at the same time that the church was built, that is to say about the year 1350, and that it was altered and restored in the fifteenth century and again in renaissance times, the mitre being an addition of the last century. The little model of the town which the saint holds in his left hand is later than the original figure, for it shews the great Torre Menze, which was built by Giorgio Orsini in 1464, and the Torre dell' orologio of 1480. As it does not shew the votive church of S. Salvatore, which was begun in 1520, it must have been added before that time, and its real date is probably about 1480 or 1490.

The Ragusa of that time was girt with mighty towers and walls like the Ragusa of to-day; a wide open street represents the present Corso, and we recognize at once the Franciscan and Dominican convents, the harbour, the Piazza del duomo, the Torre Menze, and other familiar features of the town, which are represented with so good an attempt at topographical accuracy that one is disposed to accept with confidence the representation of those buildings that have disappeared. Behind the Franciscan convent is the large garden with trees which De Diversis admired, and opposite is the fountain of Onofrio di La Cava, in its right place. The Corso seems to be regularly paved; many of the houses that line it have gabled fronts, and some have pro-

jecting pents to shelter the shops. Opposite the statue of Orlando, which supports a monstrous standard and banner, is the original church of S. Biagio, which has an eastern apse, a nave with aisles, and apparently a low outer aisle, which may be the ambulatory mentioned by De Diversis. Part of this outer building is higher than the rest, bringing it nearly to the level of the aisle, but this is confused and obscure, and not well distinguished from the duomo. The duomo has no apse represented, in the absence of which it agrees with the picture in the Dominican convent; it has a nave with aisles, clerestory windows, and a cupola in the middle of the roof; and the exterior walls of the aisle have what looks like arcading, but there is no sign of the ambulatory described by De Diversis. The Dogana has no portico[1], but a projecting pent or awning over the groundfloor windows; there seem to be only two stories, and the upper story shews the existing arrangement of a three light window between two single lights. In the Corso stands the little church of SS. Pietro Andrea and Lorenzo of Cattaro, which is now gone: near the fountain of Onofrio is shewn the church of S. Chiara, now enclosed in a barrack, and there are little churches where those of S. Stefano and S. Giacomo should be.

Additional information about the church of S. Biagio may be obtained from the picture I have alluded to in the Dominican church. From that we

[1] This agrees with the date of 1520 given above for the upper story and the portico. Vid. supra, p. 360.

learn that it had an apse, like those of Ják Traü and Sebenico, so much lower than the gable wall that there was a rose window above it; and that the nave and aisles were covered, like the duomo at Zara or the Lombard churches, with several tiers of arcading.

From the dedicatory inscription on the modern church it appears that it was rebuilt on a larger scale than the old one. Though barocco in style it is very cleverly and effectively planned, and the general interior view is pleasing. The outer walls enclose a square, which is brought by four columns into a cruciform plan with a central cupola, and the only irregularity is an extension of one arm for the chancel.

In front of the church of S. Biagio stands the statue of Orlando affixed to a marble pilaster, the erection of which is supposed to mark the era of independence. From the summit of the pilaster the public crier, with the sound of trumpet, proclaimed the decrees of the state; around it were assembled the free citizens when the state required the solemn '*laudo populi*'; and here criminals convicted of capital offences were executed. Such monuments were common in free municipalities, and they generally had attached to them the figure of an armed man, to shew that the state had the *jus gladii*[1].

[1] 'Statuam armati hominis gladium ferentis hoc jus supremum quod jus gladii ostendentis . . . ibi esse forum publicum causarum, jurisdictionum, locum justitiae, districtum territoricum.' Grifiando, cited by Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 49.

Legend states that such statues were set up by order of Charlemagne in every city of the Empire. The usage however is much older than that. A statue of Marsyas or Silenus used to be set up as a sign of liberty in the marketplaces of those cities of the Roman Empire which had the Jus Italicum, who testified by his outstretched hand 'nihil urbi deesse[1].' The custom was continued by the free cities of Germany, and by the municipalities of our own country. Kemble, talking of the Anglo-Saxon burgh of the tenth century, says: 'In the centre of the square stands the symbolic statue which marks the freedom of jurisdiction and of commerce, balance in hand to shew the right of unimpeded traffic, sword in hand to intimate the "jus gladii," to judge and punish, the right to guard with weapons of men all that men hold dearest[2].' He adds, 'whether the Germanic populations derived their pillar, figure, or statue from the Roman custom seems uncertain; certain however it is that the Rolandseule, the pillar or figure of Orlando, and it is sometimes said of Charlemagne, denotes equally "nihil urbi deesse."'

Such a monument with the figure of Orlando still stands in front of the Rathhaus of Bremen.

The Orlando of Ragusa was overthrown by a

[1] 'Bacchus apte urbibus libertatis est deus, unde etiam Marsyas ejus minister est in civitatibus (in foro positus) libertatis indicium qui erecta manu testatur nihil urbi desse.' Servius on Virg. Aen. 4. 58. So also Horace, Satir. i. vi. 119:—

'Deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus mihi quod cras
Surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya . . .'

[2] Kemble, Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 313.

hurricane in 1825, when a brass plate was discovered with the inscription which has been given above (p. 298). It was restored in 1878.

SAN SALVATORE is the last of the churches within the town that need be described. It was built, as stated on the inscription over the door, in consequence of a vow made by the government at the time of the great earthquake of 1520, the first of the fatal series from which Ragusa has suffered. Provveditori were appointed to regulate the expense, the nobles carried stones for the building barefooted, and even noble matrons lent a hand to the work[1]. But with the shocks of the earthquake, the piety or terror of the city subsided, and the little church, whose graceful front adorns the end of the Corso just inside the Porta Pile, was no less than sixteen years in building. It stands north and south, and consists of a nave about thirty-six feet by twenty-one feet, and an apse at the north end with a chord of about twelve feet. Classic pilasters divide it into three bays, but the vaulting is of Gothic construction, and so are the side windows, with their narrow lights and simple tracery like that at S. Francesco Lesina (vid. Fig. 56, supra, p. 229). The cornice is arcaded in Gothic fashion, but like that at Curzola has each arch filled with a renaissance shell. The front has a semicircular gable between two quadrants like that of the churches at Lesina and Cittavecchia, a fashion perhaps borrowed from the cathedral at

[1] Gelcich, p. 76.

Sebenico, where however the rounded gables actually close and are generated by the constructive form of the vaulting behind them. Like other buildings in Dalmatia, this little building is an example of the tenacity with which in that country architecture clung to the older forms when the art elsewhere was travelling away from them into newer developments. It is probable that the architect was one Bartolommeo da Mestre, mentioned in the acts of the notary Butrisic of Sebenico as 'protomagister fabricae sancti Jacobi' (i.e. the duomo of Sebenico), who was at work in that city in 1517 and 1523, but absent in 1520, the year in which this church was begun at Ragusa[1].

Chiesa Allè Dancé.

One of the pleasantest walks in the outskirts of the town leads from the Boschetto outside the Porta Pile to the little church 'alle Dancé.' Descending through the narrow streets of the Borgo, the first thing that strikes the attention is the grand fortalice of San Lorenzo, 'the Gibraltar of Ragusa,' perched on an almost isolated rock that rises sheer out of the sea and projects boldly forward from the main coast line. As we climbed the hill beyond, a superb picture unfolded itself of this magnificent castle and the sea-front of Ragusa beyond, with the whole circle of walls and towers descending to the level of the Corso and climbing the slopes of Monte Sergio behind it, where they finished worthily with the

[1] Gelcich, p. 77. Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 401.

stupendous Torre Menze[1]. There is perhaps no spot from which the topography of Ragusa is more intelligible.

Following the footpath over a bare stony down with a rounded summit we descended the gentle slope on the other side towards the sea, here an unbroken expanse, unchequered by islands, with nothing between us and the Apulian shore. At the very verge of the low cliff against which the sea beats we found the little 'chiesa alle Danće,' which was begun by public decree in 1457, to provide a resting place after death for the city poor, as an inscription attests which is affixed to the wall on one side of the chancel arch—

DIVÆ MARIÆ VIRGINI
S · C · DECRETO AD PAVPERVM SEPVL ·
EX ÆR · PVB · DOTIBVS
VIII · IDVS · DECEMBRIS · M · CCCCLVII
D

Though building for a pauper cemetery the Ragusan senate did not starve the design as a modern vestry might have done. On the contrary, the church is very pretty and the west doorway is even magnificent, and though the interior is plain it contains

[1] This magnificent bastion was the work of Giorgio Dalmatico in 1464. The family of Menze, from which it takes its name, is variously derived from Rome or Bosnia. It survived till the present century; vid. Brunelli, p. 64.

some good pictures which have an especial interest because the painter was a native Ragusan. There are two pictures, of which the more interesting one hangs on the north wall. It is divided by pillars into three compartments which have flat arched and cusped heads, with a frieze and cornice above, surmounted by a lunette. All the frame is original, and it is carved with arabesques prettily relieved by gilding from a deep purplish blue ground.

In the lunette is a picture of the crucifixion. Little cherubs' heads float round the Saviour; the Magdalen is at the foot of the cross, and the Virgin and St. John stand right and left, while two kneeling female figures occupy the corners of the lunette. The landscape behind is Peruginesque.

In the central compartment of the three is the Madonna with the infant Saviour ; she is dressed in red, and wears a golden robe diapered in black line. The pattern is drawn flat over the surface of the panel, not adapted to the folds, which are painted across it, as was commonly done in ancient painted glass. The Child holds a bunch of grapes and three ears of wheat, and the Virgin holds a book. The expression of the faces of both figures is very sweet, but the flesh tints are grey and cold, and the hands and feet are not drawn so well as the rest.

Around their heads little cherubs with ruby wings and a gilt nimbus float on a blue background, and at their feet kneels an infant St. John with a scroll :—

VOX CLAMANTIS IN DESERTO DIRIGITE VIAM D$\overline{\text{NI}}$.

On the plinth of the throne is the name of the artist and the date—

M° CCCCCXVII MENSIS FEBRVARII
NICOLAVS RHAGVSINVS PINGEBAT.

The right-hand niche contains the figure of St. Martin on horseback cutting away his coat with his sword; the beggar below has already wrapped himself in it, and is represented as Christ with the cross on his nimbus. The background is of gold.

The left-hand space contains St. Gregory as a pope, with a richly embroidered cope of gold diapered, in the way described above, with a reddish line; the embroidered borders have figures of saints in niches like many of the vestments we saw in Dalmatia. The saint holds a long staff with a crucifix in his left hand, and a white dove rests on his shoulder.

Below is a predella similarly divided into three. Under Gregory is a seated pope placing the tiara on his head in the midst of a host of bishops and cardinals. In the centre is St. George slaying the dragon: Una kneels in the background. Under St. Martin is the saint enthroned, and being crowned with a mitre by bishops amid surrounding clergy and monks. These little subjects are much damaged, but the rest of the picture is in fair condition. The whole is on panel. The execution is somewhat rough, but the general design and feeling are pleasing and possess considerable merit. The Madonna and Holy Child are disfigured by barbarous votive offerings of tin

crowns and glass beads, which it is to be hoped may some day be removed.

The other picture is placed over the altar, and is enclosed in a wooden frame of less happy design than the first. In an upper panel is the figure of the first person of the Trinity as an old man holding an orb in the left hand and blessing with the right; the background is of gold with ruby angels. The lower part has a Madonna with the infant Christ in the central panel, and on each side are two small panels, one over the other, with St. Nicolas and St. George to the right, St. Blaize and St. Francis to the left. This picture is almost entirely concealed by barbarous silver plating and offerings of artificial flowers, and little can be seen of it but the faces, which are not inferior to those in the other picture.

These pictures are interesting as proving the existence of a native school of painters who modelled their style on that of Italy, though painting, like architecture, lagged behind in Dalmatia, these paintings of Nicolò Raguseo in 1517 being as archaic in style as those of Crivelli sixty or seventy years earlier.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Island of Mezzo.

It is an hour's journey by a little coasting steamer from Gravosa to Mezzo, the central island of the group of the Elaphites insulae, and one of the earliest territorial acquisitions of the Republic of Ragusa. Leaving Gravosa, the boat touches at Cannosa on the mainland, a place famous for two enormous plane trees, said to have been transplanted from Constantinople three centuries ago, one of which is so large that six men with open arms can hardly gird the trunk. Neither village nor trees, however, are visible from the deck of the steamer. From Cannosa the boat stands across to the island of Mezzo, and, rounding the lofty fortified promontory which forms its northern end, comes at once in view of the little capital of the island lying along the margin of a bay. Two lofty campaniles and a stately castle give it an air of consequence, and several ruins of palaces with Venetian windows tell of wealth and prosperity now passed away. For Mezzo, which is said to have had a population of 14,000 souls, and to have been famous for its goldsmiths, has now dwindled to 500 inhabitants, very

few of whom can ever have seen a piece of gold in any form, and among whom the paper which represents that metal in the dominions of his imperial and kingly majesty is, I fear, far from being common.

The island is destitute of any accommodation for visitors, but we had an introduction to the Parroco, Don Antonio Kovacević, who received us with that friendly hospitality to which we had become used in Dalmatia, and not only insisted on our being his guests at dinner, but gave up his whole time to us during our stay.

The treasures of the church are kept in the Parroco's own house, and consist of some very remarkable church plate, and an *asciugamano* or towel, which was given by Charles V to Michele Prazatto, and bequeathed by him to the church. It is a long cloth, such as barbers use to cover their customers when they shave them, pleated at the top like an apron, and made of strips of fine lawn woven, it is said, of sycamore fibre, divided by strips of gold and silver lace. Hereby hangs a tale. Prazatto was a native of the island of Mezzo, who from a humble origin made his way to great wealth and high position. Twice did his capital founder with the ill-fated argosy that carried it, but as he was thinking of giving up commerce in despair, a lizard that he saw trying to climb a wall taught him the lesson of Robert Bruce's spider. Like the lizard, having failed twice, he succeeded in a third venture, and rose rapidly to wealth, which does not

seem to have spoiled him, if one may judge from the following story of the towel. Prazatto was on one occasion in attendance at the emperor's levee, when Charles, who was at the moment in the barber's hands, asked what he should do for him in acknowledgment of his services in carrying corn to Spain during a time of scarcity. Prazatto replied, 'I am rich enough not to desire wealth; I am king on board my own carracks and need not desire honours; I am a citizen of Ragusa and desire no titles; but as a memorial of your favour you may give me this towel.'

At his death Prazatto made the Republic of Ragusa his heir, and his statue, a rather mean affair, is placed in the courtyard of the Rector's palace (vid. Plate XLII). The ruins of his house were pointed out to us in the little town of Mezzo.

The church plate is very interesting. It consists of a chalice and paten, and an ostensorio. The chalice (Plate L) is of silver gilt, and very large, measuring no less than six inches at the brim and $13\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height, and weighing eighty ounces. On the lower part of the bowl are the emblems of the evangelists in relief, with their names in Roman lettering, and on the foot is S. Biagio. But the most curious part is the pair of little angels that hang on to the sides, with one foot touching the jewelled knop, one hand resting on the bowl of the cup, and the body flying in the air, although the wings that evidently once existed are now lost. Never was anything more quaintly or prettily

T.G.J.

"INK-PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON.

imagined. The silver gilt ostensorio has also a pair of flying angels, but they are inferior to those on the chalice, and perhaps not original; the lid and base and part of the stem also seem later than the rest. On the chalice I detected a hall-mark, a bearded bishop's head, the stamp or '*ponza*' of the mint of Ragusa, which of course is consistent with the chalice having been made on the island of Mezzo. Its date must be quite at the end of the fifteenth century, for semi-classical forms appear in the embossed arabesques of the foot, and the Gothic lettering of the fifteenth century has given way to Roman.

Before dinner we walked with the Parroco to see the *chiesa matrice* or mother-church of Mezzo, which, strangely enough, is not in the town but at the far end of the island. A fair mule-track led upwards, between olive yards and paddocks that were really green, to a high plateau, forming a saddle between the two great hills which make the island. The old stone walls on either hand were full of lovely ferns and mosses, and behind us, through the glancing foliage of the olives, were enchanting views of sea and mountain under a brilliant sky, with the foreshortened island of Giupana, and a little sparkling town on its nearest shore vis-à-vis with Mezzo. On reaching the central plateau we had another equally lovely view forwards; the sea lay deep down in a bay to the right, and in front was the open Adriatic, and the hilly peninsula that forms the haven of Gravosa and hides Ragusa.

On the southern slope of the island, looking towards Ragusa, we found the lonely church we had come to see. It is approached through a forecourt surrounded by a broken down wall, and by the ruins of the parsonage and the base of an unfinished campanile, in which hang three bells in little arches near the ground. The church, into which you descend by six steps, is a simple building of the fifteenth century, as appears from the character of the side windows (Fig. 71) and an inscription on a

DIE : VIII IVN
✠ IN NOIE DNI
DEDICATVM EST
TEMPL HOC M
CCCCLXXXVIII

Fig. 71.

tablet in the wall, which records the dedication in 1488. There is a good sixteenth century altar-piece, with gilt arabesques on a blue ground, framing a strange collection of large painted and gilt wooden figures assisting at the assumption of the Virgin. Below, as a predella, are roughly cut carvings of the last supper and the washing of the apostles' feet, now much choked up with bad painting. Local tradition says that this altar-piece belonged to Henry VIII of England, and was turned out of one of the royal chapels at the Reformation

and bought by a citizen of Mezzo, who brought it home with him[1].

The chancel has a handsome waggon ceiling of blue panels divided by gilt ribs and white cabling. The altar railings of stone balustrading are pretty, though much defaced by whitewash, and there is a rich renaissance font.

Over a side altar enclosed by an iron grill is an early painting, much altered and made up. The central part, with the Madonna and three saints on each side under trefoil-cusped niches of gilt woodwork, is original and good. A crucifixion above, with a mutilated Venetian canopy, does not seem to belong to the rest, and three small half-length figures on either side of the Crucifixion are also evidently out of their place. The whole is enclosed in a renaissance altar-piece of the same date as that over the high altar.

Another picture in the church is interesting, although it is a complete wreck, the planks of wood upon which it is painted having actually started apart. The subjects are the Virgin and Child, with Saints Catherine and Sebastian, and another figure with a pilgrim's staff and a hat hanging on his back, perhaps St. James. The heads are well painted.

In the sacristy, which contains a Venetian

[1] This somewhat improbable story is disposed of by Prof. Gelcich, who gives the names of the artists Magister Urbanus Georgii de Tenum, Derfort Banakus fabrolignarius, who were commissioned to make it in 1636 by Biagio Allegretti. Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 80.

'lavabo,' is to be seen some exquisite embroidery on a '*velo omerale*,' a kind of scarf used at benedictions, worked with roses between rays of gold, the roses of a creamy salmon brown with lines of dark brown. The church also contains a very fine fifteenth century processional cross of silver. On one side are the figures of Christ and the four Evangelists,—at least St. John *should* be here, though he has been shifted to the back,—and on the other the Madonna, S. Biagio, S. Nicolò, the angel Gabriel with a lily, and St. Peter, who has changed places with St. John. The knop below is later.

On the iron grill in the nave it is somewhat of a surprise to find the scutcheon of the Visconti, '*la vipera che il Melanese accampa*.' This venomous beast, which would have been more at home in the island of Méleda, a few miles off, gives its name also to the neighbouring bay *del Biscione*, —in Venetian '*Bissone*,'—and to the wind that blows thence to Mezzo, and the chiesa matrice itself is known to the natives as S. Maria del Bissone [1].

On the way back to the town, by a scarcely less lovely path than that by which we came, the Parroco told us a good deal about Mezzo, and the life led by

[1] I do not know what connexion existed between Mezzo and the Visconti. It may have arisen from commercial relations between Ragusa and Milan. An altar of S. Ambrogio in the church of S. Biagio at Ragusa was erected by the Sforza of Milan and repaired and embellished by Ludovico Sforza in 1499. Vid. Gelcich, p. 38.

the peasants on these smaller islands. They are very poor, and a bad year reduces them to great straits. Olives are their main crop ; in a good year the community makes as much as £2000, but in bad years very little ; and as the last two years had been bad, and the harvest promised to be good only here and there, the people were likely to be pinched a good deal during the coming winter. They grow cabbages and a few potatoes for their own consumption; they have no cows, and their sheep are kept for milk and not for eating ; once a week only, on Saturdays, a ship from the mainland brings them some meat, but many of them taste it only four or five times in the twelvemonth, and the fishery is not good. Communication with the mainland was very uncertain till quite lately, for till the steamers began to touch there five months before our visit there was no communication but by small boats. On this account the people were sometimes put to actual straits for food ; and in one winter, when the weather was so rough for three weeks that no boat could get across, they had actually to put themselves on rations of flour. The consequence of a bad harvest is that the peasants get into debt with the money-lenders at Ragusa, to whom they have to give interest at the rate of six or eight per cent. ; but their credit has hitherto been good, and no instances have yet occurred of the debtors being sold up.

Returning to the town we went first to the Dominican convent. The church was struck by

lightning and abandoned in 1862, the convent itself had been deserted previously, and both now stand open to the winds, and are falling into ruin. The buildings seem to be all of the later part of the fifteenth century, including the belfry (Fig. 72), which, however, keeps in a late style the 'mid-wall' shafts, to use Professor Willis's term, of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The dismantled church consists of a single nave with long windows of Italian Gothic, and still contains the ruin of a fair picture of the Annunciation dated M.D.XIII.

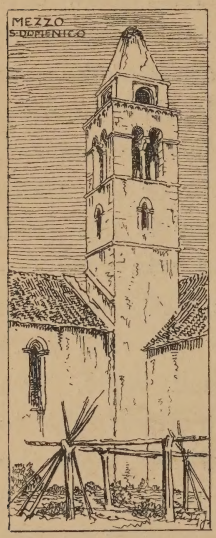


Fig. 72.

From the church we wandered into the deserted refectory, where the stone legs that once carried the tables still remain though the tables themselves are gone; and instead of the savoury steam of the kitchen, there is now only the fume of the pitch which the fishermen boil here in large cauldrons for caulking their boats. We regained the beach through the neglected convent garden.

The Franciscan convent of S. Maria di Spilitza (= Ital. *Spelonchetta*) stands on a low cliff at the other end of the town. Here, too, the convent is deserted and falling rapidly into ruin, but the church is kept up, and is now generally used as the parish church instead of the distant

chiesa matrice. The convent is said to have been founded in 1484, and the church is of that date, though the convent and cloister have evidently been rebuilt since. The nave windows are plain lancets, and those of the eastern part have two narrow lights with trefoiled heads and a quatrefoiled circle as at S. Francesco on the island of Lesina dated 1461, and the chiesa matrice in this island dated 1488 (Figs. 56, 71). The choir is fitted with very rich stalls of fifteenth century Venetian Gothic in the same style as those at Arbe Zara and Lesina, and it is interesting to notice how even in this late work the leaves retained the crisp Byzantine raffling, and are packed within one another and fluted quite in the ancient manner, while the little capitals of the elbow posts have still more thoroughly the look of Byzantine work. It is to be regretted that the original arrangement of these stalls has been destroyed, the return stalls which enclosed the friar's choir having, since the church has been turned to congregational use, been removed and placed against the walls of the chancel.

The altar piece is very fine; it is made of wood, painted blue and gilt, and contains the pictures indicated in the accompanying diagram. (See next page.) The central niche and the statue of the Virgin which it contains are not original.

From the convent cloister and garden may be reached one of the two castles that defended Mezzo. It is quite ruined, and contains nothing of interest,

but forms a very picturesque feature in the general view of the town. The castles are called respectively the 'English' and the 'Spanish' castle. The English occupied Mezzo, as they did Curzola Lissa and Lagosta, from 1813 till 1815.

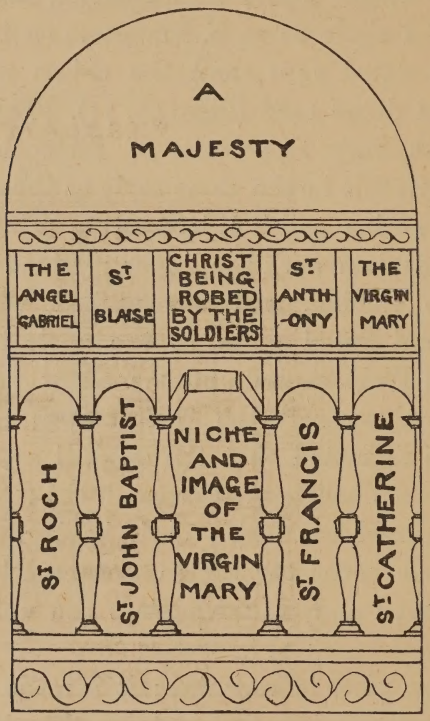


Fig. 72 *a*.

Returning to the parroco's hospitable roof we found dinner awaiting us, one of those stupendous midday meals to which we could never quite accommodate our English constitutions. His mother, an active lady of eighty years, who could talk no

Italian, and with whom we had been obliged to exchange civilities in dumb-show, was cook and housekeeper, and consequently we lost the pleasure of her company at dinner, but she came afterwards to say good-bye before retiring for her siesta. A very satisfying minestra of rice and broth was succeeded by fowls and a curious leathery fried substance which I believe to have been cuttle fish, and after that by some excellently cooked *barboni* or red mullet, which came unfortunately to blunted appetites. Finally, we had some quince cheese, a staple dish of this country in which quinces seem to abound. The wine, which was made on the spot, was very good, and altogether our repast was only on too magnificent a scale for our habits.

Besides the three churches I have described Mezzo had once eighteen or twenty chapels. Many of these still remain, though roofless and in ruin. One more perfect than the rest stands with open doors on the cliff as you approach from the mainland, and contains a tomb which, I believe, deserves a visit, and which we were to have seen had time permitted.

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